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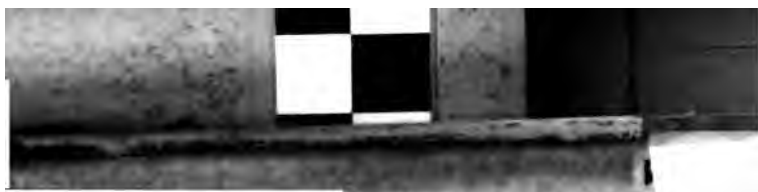
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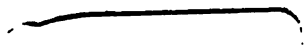


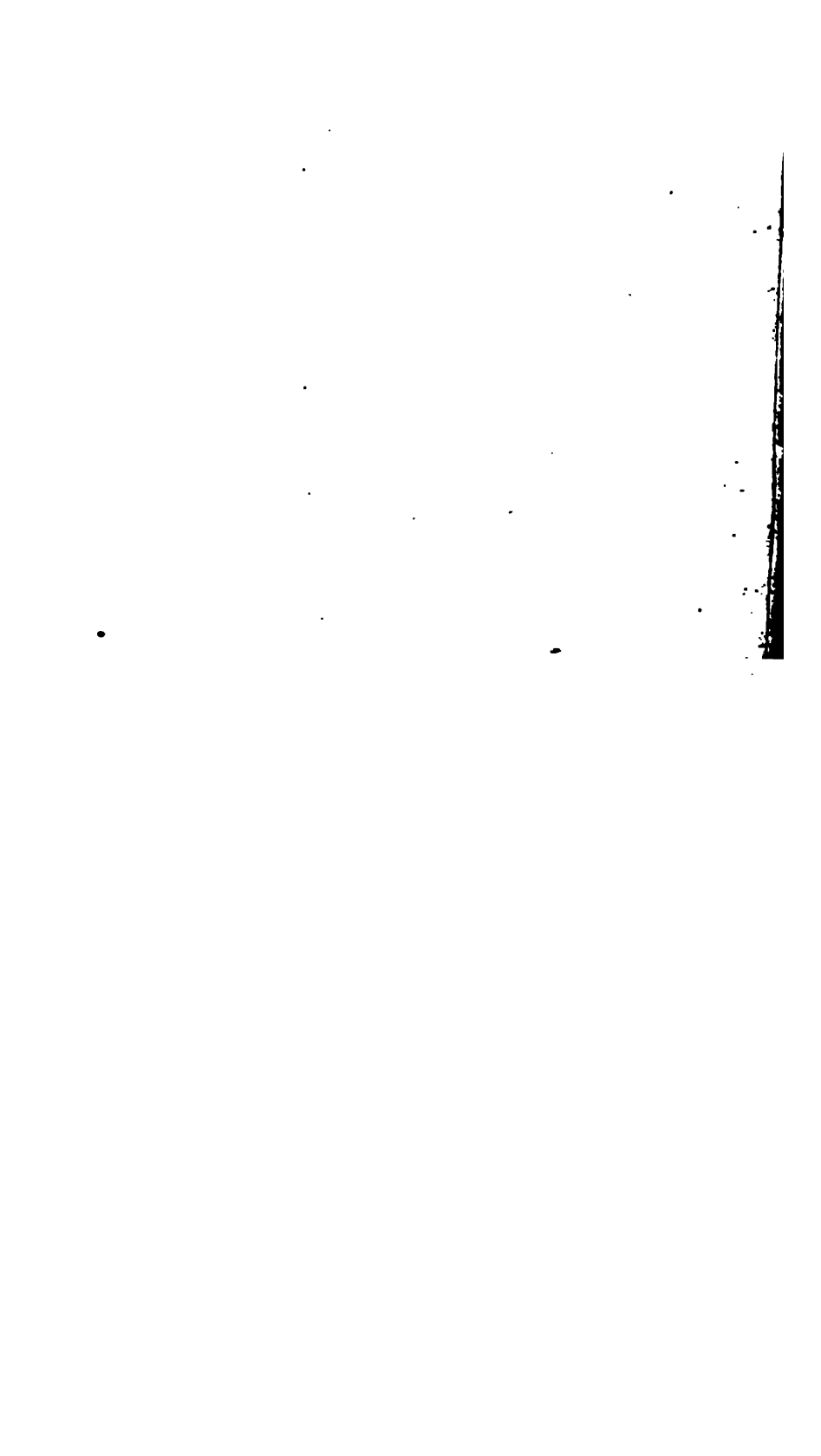
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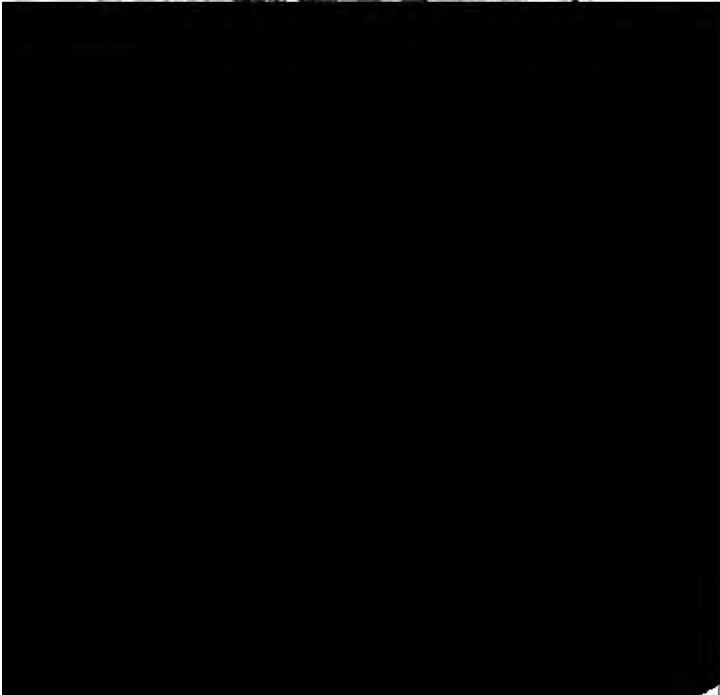
George Ambrose Rhodes Esq.







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MILTON



G. Vertue

1750.

PARADISE LOST.

A

P O E M,

I N

T W E L V E B O O K S.

The AUTHOR

J O H N M I L T O N.

The SECOND EDITION,

With NOTES of various AUTHORS,

By THOMAS NEWTON, D. D.

VOLUME *the* FIRST.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper; and for S. Birt,
C. Hitch, J. Hodges, B. Dod, B. Wicksted, J. Oswald,
J. Ward, J. Brindley, C. Corbet, and J. New.

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TO the RIGHT HONORABLE the

E A R L O F B A T H.

MY LORD,

MILTON himself prefixed no Dedication to the PARADISE LOST; for he designed it, not for a single patron, but for the wise and learned of all ages. However several of the later editions have been inscribed to Lord Sommers, as a great admirer and encourager of this work: and indeed such a poem should be addressed only to the most worthy, to Lord Sommers, or One like Him a judge and patron of arts, and illustrious both in the commonwealth of men and the commonwealth of letters.

DEDICATION.

every body's hands, and read with universal delight and admiration: but Your verses are made only for the amusement of Your leisure hours, and the entertainment of Your friends; and it is not easy for others, who have not had the pleasure of seeing some of them, to conceive the spirit, and ease, and elegance, and happiness, with which they are written. They, who remember the pieces by Lord Dorset, may have the best notion of them.

And if I may presume to know any thing of the spirit or mind of Milton by a diligent perusal of his works, he would be pleased with the offering of any of his writings to Your Lordship, for the sake of those principles of liberty which You have always professed. He would have rejoiced
in

DEDICATION.

in Your long, and glorious struggle in the cause of liberty, in the cause of Your country: and if all the good effects have not followed from it, which might have been expected, though it may not become me to say where the blame ought to be laid, yet it cannot misbecome me to say that it ought by no means to be laid, as it has been, upon Your Lordship. It is not my business to give any offense, and I intend none. I abhor defamation, and I scorn as much to flatter your Lordship or any man. But it may be said, I hope without offense, I am sure without flattery, that it is in Your Lordship's power to set all these transactions in a clear light, and You have sufficient materials by You for this purpose, and have often been solicited by Your friends to do it: but Your Lordship's

DEDICATION:

answer always was, that You would leave it to Time and Truth to vindicate Your character. And the event has succeeded according to Your Lordship's wisdom and foresight; prejudice is dying away; truth is gaining ground daily; and the more the truth is understood, the more it redounds to Your Lordship's honor: and Your enemies themselves, and those who not knowing Your purposes will not allow You to have acted a wise, must yet be forced to acknowledge that you acted a most disinterested part. For it is very well known, that you were even courted to accept the place of the greatest power and confidence; or if You had foreseen any difficulty of maintaining Yourself in power, as that is a slippery and uncertain situation, You might have secured Yourself in the possession

DEDICATION.

session of any of the most lucrative employments, and might have enjoyed it with a patent for life. But Your Lordship was content to leave others in place and power, who You thought were most able and best qualified for the administration of public affairs, and retired Yourself with only a dignity, which had been offered You several times before. Such instances of magnanimity and disinterestedness have not been common in any age, and are very uncommon in the present.

Thus much the love of truth and virtue, which is inseparable from the love of Your Lordship, has obliged me to say: and if I am partial to Your Lordship's character, there are other reasons which have made me so, besides the friendship and kindness which You have shown to
me



DEDICATION.

me upon all occasions. Your love of religion and virtue, which You express in all Your discourses and actions; Your reverence for the holy Scriptures, and how unfashionable soever it may be, Your open profession of the truth of the Christian revelation; Your regard for our establish'd Church, and regular attendance upon the public worship; Your constant and inviolable affection to the constitution and liberties of Your country; Your acting always upon the true Whig principles, and asserting equally the prerogatives of the crown and the privileges of the people; Your steady and sincere attachment, tho' not always to the ministers, yet always to the person of our most gracious King, and the true interests of his royal family, who next under God are the great bulwark
and

DEDICATION.

and defense of our religion and liberties; Your readiness at all times to maintain the liberty of the press, tho' no man ever suffered more by the abuse of it than Yourself; Your humane and compassionate temper; Your uncommon knowledge, and extensive genius for literature or business; Your easy wit, and flowing conversation, often instructive, always agreeable and entertaining; Your social and convivial spirit, that it is a happiness to live or converse with You; these, these are the good qualities, which have gained my affection, and must gain every one's who hath equal opportunities of observing them. If I knew any man, who possessed and exerted them all in a greater and more eminent degree than Your Lordship, I should love him and admire him more: but till then

D E D I C A T I O N .

I must have the highest honor for Your Lordship, and cannot help professing myself without reserve, and with all possible veneration,

M Y L O R D,

Your LORDSHIP's ever obliged,

and devoted Servant,

May 20, 1749.

T H O M A S N E W T O N .

P R E F A C E.

TO publish new and correct editions of the works of approved authors has ever been esteemed a service to learning, and an employment worthy of men of learning. It is not material whether the author is ancient or modern. Good criticism is the same in all languages. Nay I know not whether there is not greater merit in cultivating our own language than any other. And certainly next to a good writer, a good critic holds the second rank in the republic of letters. And if the pious and learned Bishop of Thessalonica has gained immortal honor by his notes upon Homer, it can be no discredit to a graver Divine than myself to comment upon such a divine poem as the Paradise Lost, especially after some great men, who have gone before me in this exercise, and whose example is sanction sufficient.

My design in the present edition is to publish the Paradise Lost, as the work of a classic author cum notis variorum. And in order to this end the first care has been to print the text correctly according to Milton's own editions. And herein the editors of Milton have a considerable advantage over the editors of Shakespear. For the first editions of Shakespear's works being printed from the incorrect copies of the players, there is more room left for conjectures and emendations; and as according to the old proverb,

Bene qui conjiciet vatem hunc perhibebo optimum,
the best guesser was the best diviner, so he may be said in some measure too to be the best editor of Shakespear, as Mr. Warburton hath proved himself
by

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by variety of conjectures, and many of them very happy ones, upon the most difficult passages. But we who undertake to publish Milton's Paradise Lost are not reduced to that uncertainty; we are not left floating in the wide ocean of conjecture, but have a chart and compass to steer by; we have an authentic copy to follow in the two editions printed in his own life-time, and have only to correct what may be supposed to be the errors of the press, or mistakes occasioned by the author's blindness. These two editions then, the first in ten books printed in a small quarto, and the second in twelve books printed in a small octavo, are proposed as our standard: the variations in each are noted; and we never deviate from them both without assigning, as we think, a substantial reason for it. Some alterations indeed are necessary to be made in consequence of the late improvements in printing, with regard to the use of capital letters, Italic characters, and the spelling of some words: but to Milton's own spelling (for we must distinguish between his and that of his times) we pay all proper regard, and commonly note where it is right, and where it is wrong; and follow it or not accordingly. His pointing too we generally observe, because it is generally right; such was the care, that Milton himself took in having the proof-sheets read to him, or his friends took for him: and changes of consequence we make none without signifying the reasons; in lesser instances there is no occasion to be particular. In a word we approve of the two first editions in the main, tho' we cannot think that they ought to be followed (as some have advised) letter for letter, and point for point. We desire

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desire to transcribe all their excellencies, but have no notion of perpetuating their faults and errors.

When the text was settled, the notes came next under consideration. P. H. or Patrick Hume, as he was the first, so is the most copious annotator. He laid the foundation, but he laid it among infinite heaps of rubbish. The greater part of his work is a dull dictionary of the most common words, a tedious fardel of the most trivial observations, explaining what requires no explanation: but take away what is superfluous, and there will still remain a great deal that is useful; there is gold among his dross, and I have been careful to separate the one from the other. It was recommended to me indeed to print intire Mr. Addison's Spectators upon the Paradise Lost, as ingenious essays which had contributed greatly to the reputation of the poem, and having been added to several editions they could not well be omitted in this edition: and accordingly those papers, which treat of the poem in general, are prefixed in the nature of a preliminary discourse; and those, which are written upon each book separately, are inserted under each book, and interwoven in their proper places. Dr. Bentley's is a great name in criticism. But he has not acquired any additional honor by his new edition of the Paradise Lost. Nay some have been so far prejudiced as to think, that he could not be a good critic in any language, who had shown himself so injudicious an one in his own mother-tongue. But prejudice apart, he was a very great man, of parts inferior to few, of learning superior to most men; and he has made some very judicious and useful remarks upon the Paradise Lost, though

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though in the general they may rather be called the dotages of Dr. Bentley. He was more sagacious in finding faults, than happy in mending them; and if he had confined himself only to the former, he might have had better success; but when he attempted the latter, and substituted verses of his own in the room of Milton's, he commonly made most miserable bungling work, being no poet himself, and having little or no taste of poetry. Dr. Pearce, the present Lord Bishop of Bangor, has distinguished his taste and judgment in choosing always the best authors for the subjects of his criticism, as Cicero and Longinus among the Ancients, and Milton among the Moderns. His Review of the Text of the Paradise Lost is not only a most complete answer to Dr. Bentley, but may serve as a pattern to all future critics, of sound learning and just reasoning joined with the greatest candor and gentleness of manners. The whole is very well worthy of the perusal of every lover and admirer of Milton, but such parts only are ingrafted into this work as are more immediately proper for our design, and explain some difficulty, or illustrate some beauty of our author. His Lordship together with my Lord Bath first engaged me in this undertaking, and he has kindly assisted me in it from the beginning to the end; and I cannot but entertain the better hopes of the public approbation, as these sheets, long before they went to the press, were perused and corrected by his Lordship. Of Mr. Richardson's notes it must be said that there are strange inequalities in them, some extravagances, and many excellences; there is often better sense than grammar or English; and
he

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he sometimes hits the true meaning of the author surprisingly, and explains it properly. He had good natural parts but without erudition or learning, in which he was assisted by his son, who is a man of taste and literature, as well as of the greatest benevolence and good-nature. Mr. Warburton likewise has published some remarks upon the Paradise Lost, occasioned chiefly by Dr. Bentley's edition. They were printed some years ago in the History of the works of the Learned, and he allowed me the free use of them: but upon looking into the History of the works of the Learned, to my regret I found that his remarks were continued no farther than the three first books, and what is become of his other papers, and how they were mislaid and lost, neither he nor I can apprehend; but the excellence of those which remain sufficiently evinces the great loss that we have sustained in the others, which cannot now be recovered. He has done me the honor too of recommending this edition to the public in the preface to his Shakespear, but nothing could have recommended it more effectually than if it had been adorned by some more of his notes and observations. There is a pamphlet intitled An Essay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients, said to be written by a Gentleman of North Britain; and there is another intitled Letters concerning poetical translations, and Virgil's and Milton's arts of verse, commonly ascribed to Mr. Auditor Benson: and of both these I have made some use, as I have likewise of the learned Mr. Upton's Critical Observations on Shakespear, wherein he has occasionally interspersed some remarks upon Milton; and in short, like the bee, I have been

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studious of gathering sweets wherever I could find them growing.

But besides the flower of those which have been already published, here are several new observations offered to the world, both of others and my own. Dr. Heylin lent me the use of his manuscript remarks, but much the greater part of them had been rifled before by Dr. Bentley. It seems Dr. Heylin had once an intention of publishing a new edition of the *Paradise Lost*, and mentioned his design to Dr. Bentley: but Dr. Bentley declaring at the same time his resolution of doing it, Dr. Heylin modestly desisted, and freely communicated what observations he had made to Dr. Bentley. And what does Dr. Bentley do? Why, he borrows the best and most plausible of his notes from Dr. Heylin, publishes them as his own, and never has the gratitude to make any acknowledgment, or so much as any mention of his benefactor. I am obliged too to Mr. Jortin for some remarks, which he conveyed to me by the hands of Dr. Pearce. They are chiefly upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients; but every thing that proceeds from him is of value, whether in poetry, criticism, or divinity; as appears from his *Lusus Poetici*, his *Miscellaneous Observations upon authors*, and his *Discourses concerning the truth of the Christian Religion*. Besides those already mentioned, Mr. Warburton has favored me with a few other notes in manuscript; I wish there had been more of them for the sake of the reader, for the loose hints of such writers, like the slight sketches of great masters in painting, are worth more than the labor'd pieces of others. And he very kindly lent me
Mr,

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r. Pope's Milton of Bentley's edition, wherein
r. Pope had all along with his own hand set some
rk of approbation, rectè, benè, pulchrè &c. in
margin over-against such emendations of the
ctor's, as seem'd to him just and reasonable. It
s a satisfaction to see what so great a genius thought
ticularly of that edition, and he appears through-
: the whole to have been a very candid reader,
l to have approved of more than really merits ap-
bation. Mr. Richardson the father has said in
preface, that his son had a very copious collection
fine passages out of ancient and modern authors,
which Milton had profited; and this collection,
ich is written in the margin and between the lines
Mr. Hume's annotations, Mr. Richardson the son
put into my hands. Some little use I have made
it; and it might have been of greater service, and
ve saved me some trouble, if I had not then almost
npleted this work. Mr. Thyer, the Librarian at
uncheester, I have not the pleasure of knowing
sonally, but by his writings I am convinced that
must be a man of great learning, and as great
narity. It was late before I was informed that he
l written any remarks upon the Paradise Lost,
he was very ready to communicate them, and
the greater dispatch sent me his interleav'd Milton,
erein his remarks were written: but unluckily for
y, for me, and for the public, the book thro' the
ligence of the carrier was dropt upon the road,
cannot since be found. Mr. Thyer however
h had the goodness to endeavor to repair the loss
ne and to the public by writing what he could
ollect, and sending me a sheet or two full of re-
B 2 marks

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marks almost every post for several weeks together : and tho' several of them came too late to be inserted into the body of the work, yet they will be found in the * Appendix, which is made for the sake of them principally. It is unnecessary to say any thing in their commendation ; they will sufficiently recommend themselves. Some other assistance too I have received from persons, whose names are unknown, and others, whose names I am not at liberty to mention : but I hope the Speaker of the House of Commons will pardon my ambition to have it known, that he has been pleased to suggest some useful hints and observations, when I have been admitted to the honor of his conversation.

And as the notes are of various authors, so they are of various kinds, critical and explanatory ; some to correct the errors of former editions, to discuss the various readings, and to establish the true genuine text of Milton ; some to illustrate the sense and meaning, to point out the beauties and defects of sentiment and character, and to commend or censure the conduct of the poem ; some to remark the peculiarities of stile and language, to clear the syntax, and to explain the uncommon words, or common words used in an uncommon signification ; some to consider and examin the numbers, and to display our author's great arts of versification, the variety of the pauses, and the adaptness of the sound to the sense ; some to show his imitations and allusions to other authors, whether sacred or profane, ancient or modern. We might have been much larger and more copious under each of these heads, and especially under

* In this edition they are inserted in their proper places.

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under the last: but I would not produce every thing that hath any similitude and resemblance, but only such passages as we may suppose the author really alluded to, and had in mind at the time of writing. It was once my intention to prefix some essays to this work, one upon Milton's stile, another upon his versification, a third upon his imitations &c; but upon more mature deliberation I concluded that the same things would have a better effect in the form of short notes, when the particular passages referred to came immediately under consideration, and the context lay before the reader. There would have been more of the pomp and ostentation of criticism in the former, but I conceive there is more real use and advantage in the latter. It is the great fault of commentators, that they are apt to be silent or at most very concise where there is any difficulty, and to be very prolix and tedious where there is none: but it is hoped that the contrary method has been taken here; and tho' more may be said than is requisite for critics and scholars, yet it may be no more than is necessary or proper for other readers of Milton. For these notes are intended for general use, and if they are received with general approbation, that will be sufficient. I can hardly expect that any body should approve them all, and I may be certain that no body can condemn them all.

The life of the author it is almost become a custom to prefix to a new edition of his works; for when we admire the writer, we are curious also to know something of the man: and the life of Milton is not barely a history of his works, but is so much the more interesting, as he was more engaged in

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public affairs than poets usually are. And it has happened that more accounts have been written of his life, than of almost any author's, particularly by Antony Wood in his *Facti Oxonienses*, by our author's nephew Mr. Edward Philips before the English translation of Milton's *State-letters* printed in 1694, by Mr. Toland before the edition of our author's prose works in three volumes folio printed in 1698, by Monsieur Bayle in his *Historical and Critical Dictionary*, by Mr. Fenton before the edition of our author's poetical works printed in 1725, by Mr. Richardson in the preface to his *Explanatory Notes and Remarks upon Milton's Paradise Lost*, and by the reverend and ingenious Mr. Thomas Birch in the *General Dictionary*, and more largely before the edition of our author's prose works in two

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The man, who is at the pains of making indexes, is really to be pitied; but of their great utility there is no need to say any thing, when several persons, who pass in the world for profound scholars, know little more of books than title-pages and indexes, but never catch the spirit of an author, which is sure always to evaporate or die in such hands. The former of these indexes, if not drawn up by Mr. Tickell, was I think first inserted in his quarto edition of Milton's poetical works printed in 1720; and for the latter, which was much more laborious, it was composed at the desire and encouragement of Mr. Auditor Benson by Mr. Cruden, who hath also published a very useful Concordance to the Bible.





THE
LIFE OF MILTON.

It is agreed among all writers, that the family of Milton came originally from Milton in Oxfordshire; but from which of the Miltons is not altogether so certain. Some say, and particularly Philips, that the family was of Milton nearington in Oxfordshire, where it had been a long time seated, as appears by the monuments still to be seen in Milton-church. But that Milton is not in Oxfordshire, but in Berkshire; and upon inquiry I find, that there are no such monuments in that church, nor any remains of them. It is more probable therefore that the family came, as Mr. Wood says, from Milton near Halton and Thame in Oxfordshire: where it flourished several years, till at last the estate was sequester'd, one of the family having been on the unfortunate side in the civil wars between the houses of York and Lancaster. John Milton, the poet's grand-father, was, according to Mr. Wood, under-ranger or keeper of the forest of Shotover near Halton in Oxfordshire; he was of the religion of Rome, and such a bigot that he disinherited his son only for being a protestant. Upon this the son, the poet's father, named likewise John Milton, settled in London, and became a scrivener by the advice of an uncle eminent in that profession: but he was not devoted to gain and to business, as to lose all taste for the polite arts, and was particularly skilled in music, in which he was not only a fine performer, but

and there he excelled more and more, and distinguished himself by several copies of verses upon occasional subjects, as well as by all his academical exercises, many of which are printed among his other works, and show him to have had a capacity above his years: and by his obliging behaviour added to his great learning and ingenuity he deservedly gained the affection of many, and admiration of all. We do not find however that he obtained any preferment in the university, or a fellowship in his own college; which seemeth the more extraordinary, as that society has always encouraged learning and learned men, had the most excellent Mr. Mede at that time a fellow, and afterwards boasteth the great names of Cudworth, and Burnet author of the *Theory of the Earth*, and several others. And this together with some Latin verses of his to a friend, reflecting upon the university seemingly on this account, might probably have given occasion to the reproach which was afterwards cast upon him by his adversaries, that he was expelled from the university for irregularities committed there, and forced to fly to Italy: but he sufficiently refutes this calumny in more places than one of his works; and indeed it is no wonder, that a person so engaged in religious and political controversies, as he was, should be calumniated and abused by the contrary party.

He was designed by his parents for holy orders; and among the manuscripts of Trinity College in Cambridge there are two draughts in Milton's own hand of a letter to a friend, who had importuned him to take orders, when he had attained the age of twenty three: but the truth is, he had conceived
early

in his studies at home, he was sent to St. Paul's school, to be fitted for the university under the care of Mr. Gill, who was the master at that time, and to whose son are addressed some of his familiar epistles. In this early time of his life such was his love of learning, and so great was his ambition to surpass his equals, that from his twelfth year he commonly continued his studies till midnight, which (as he says himself in his second Defense) was the first ruin of his eyes, to whose natural debility were added too frequent head-akes : but all could not extinguish or abate his laudable passion for letters. It is very seldom seen, that such application and such a genius meet in the same person. The force of either is great, but both together must perform wonders.

He was now in the 17th year of his age, and was a very good classical scholar and master of several languages, when he was sent to the university of Cambridge, and admitted at Christ's College (as appears from the register) on the 12th of February 1624-5, under the tuition of Mr. William Chappel, afterwards Bishop of Cork and Ross in Ireland. He continued above seven years at the university, and took two degrees, that of Bachelor of Arts in 1628-9, and that of Master in 1632. It is somewhat remarkable, that tho' the merits of both our universities are perhaps equally great, and tho' poetical exercises are rather more encouraged at Oxford, yet most of our greatest poets have been bred at Cambridge, as Spenser, Cowley, Waller, Dryden, Prior, not to mention any of the lesser ones, when there is a greater than all, Milton. He had given early proofs of his poetic genius before he went to the university,
and

the Lord Brackly and Mr. Thomas Egerton, and that of the lady by his Lordship's daughter the Lady Alice Egerton. The occasion of this poem seemeth to have been merely an accident of the two brothers and the lady having lost one another in their way to the castle: and it is written very much in imitation of Shakespear's *Tempest*, and the *Faithful Shepherdess* of Beaumont and Fletcher; and though one of the first, is yet one of the most beautiful of Milton's compositions. It was for some time handed about only in manuscript; but afterwards to satisfy the importunity of friends and to save the trouble of transcribing, it was printed at London, though without the author's name, in 1637, with a dedication to the Lord Brackly by Mr. H. Lawes, who compos'd the music, and played the part of the attendant Spirit. It was printed likewise at Oxford at the end of Mr. R's poems, as we learn from a letter of Sir Henry Wotton to our author; but who that Mr. R. was, whether Randolph the poet or who else, is uncertain. It has lately, tho' with additions and alterations, been exhibited on the stage several times; and we hope the fine poetry and morality have recommended it to the audience, and not barely the authority of Milton's name; and we wish for the honor of the nation, that the like good taste prevailed in every thing.

In 1637 he wrote another excellent piece, his *Lycidas*, wherein he laments the untimely fate of a friend, who was unfortunately drowned that same year in the month of August, on the Irish seas, in his passage from Chester. This friend was Mr. Edward King, son of Sir John King, Secretary of
Ireland

The LIFE of MILTON. vii

nd under Queen Elizabeth, King James I, and
; Charles I; and was a fellow of Christ's Col-
and was so well beloved and esteemed at Cam-
e, that some of the greatest names in the uni-
y have united in celebrating his obsequies, and
shed a collection of poems, Greek and Latin
English, sacred to his memory. The Greek by
More &c; the Latin by T. Farnaby, J. Pear-
ec; the English by H. King, J. Beaumont,
aveland with several others; and judiciously
ast of all, as the best of all, is Milton's Lycidas.
1 such sacrifices the Gods themselves strow in-
nse;" and one would almost wish so to have
for the sake of having been so lamented. But
poem is not all made up of sorrow and tender-
there is a mixture of satir and indignation; for
art of it the poet taketh occasion to inveigh
st the corruptions of the clergy, and seemeth to
first discovered his acrimony against Archbishop
l, and to have threaten'd him with the loss of
ead, which afterwards happened to him thro'
ury of his enemies. At least I can think of no
so proper to be given to the following verses
ycidas,

ides what the grim wolf with privy paw
aily devours apace, and nothing said;
it that two-handed engin at the door
ands ready to smite once, and smite no more.

hout this time, as we learn from one of his fa-
r epistles, he had some thoughts of taking
bers at one of the Inns of Court, for he was
not

not very well pleased with living so obscurely in the country: but his mother dying, he prevailed with his father to let him indulge a desire, which he had long entertained, of seeing foreign countries, and particularly Italy: and having communicated his design to Sir Henry Wotton, who had formerly been embassador at Venice, and was then Provost of Eton College, and having also sent him his *Mask* of which he had not yet publicly acknowledged himself the author, he received from him the following friendly letter dated from the College the 10th of April 1638.

S I R,

“ It was a special favor, when You lately bestowed
 “ upon me here the first taste of Your acquaintance,
 “ tho’ no longer than to make me know, that I
 “ wanted more time to value it, and to enjoy it
 “ rightly. And in truth, if I could then have ima-
 “ gined Your farther stay in these parts, which I
 “ understood afterwards by Mr. H., I would have
 “ been bold, in our vulgar phrase, to mend my
 “ draught, for You left me with an extreme thirst,
 “ and to have begged your conversation again jointly
 “ with Your said learned friend, at a poor meal or
 “ two, that we might have banded together some
 “ good authors of the ancient time, among which I
 “ observed You to have been familiar.

“ Since Your going, You have charged me with
 “ new obligations, both for a very kind letter from
 “ You, dated the sixth of this month, and for a
 “ dainty piece of entertainment, that came there-
 “ with; wherein I should much commend the tra-
 “ gical part, if the lyrical did not ravish with a
 certain

" certain Doric delicacy in Your songs and odes,
 " wherein I must plainly confefs to have seen yet
 " nothing parallel in our language, Ipsa mollities.
 " But I must not omit to tell You, that I now only
 " owe You thanks for intimating unto me, how
 " modestly soever, the true artificer. For the work
 " itself I had view'd some good while before with
 " singular delight, having received it from our com-
 " mon friend Mr. R. in the very close of the late
 " R's poems printed at Oxford; whereunto it is
 " added, as I now suppose, that the accessory might
 " help out the principal, according to the art of
 " stationers, and leave the reader con la bocca dolce.
 " Now, Sir, concerning Your travels, wherein I
 " may challenge a little more privilege of discourse
 " with You; I suppose, You will not blanch Paris
 " in Your way. Therefore I have been bold to
 " trouble You with a few lines to Mr. M. B. whom
 " You shall easily find attending the young Lord S.
 " as his governor; and You may surely receive from
 " him good directions for shaping of Your farther
 " journey into Italy, where he did reside by my
 " choice some time for the king, after mine own re-
 " cefs from Venice.
 " I should think, that Your best line will be
 " thro' the whole length of France to Marscilles,
 " and thence by sea to Genoa, whence the passage
 " into Tuscany is as diurnal as a Gravesend barge. I
 " hasten, as You do, to Florence or Sienna, the ra-
 " ther to tell You a short story, from the interest
 " You have given me in Your safety.
 " At Sienna I was tabled in the house of one Alberto
 " Scipione, an old Roman courtier in dangerous
 " times,

“ times, having been steward to the Duca di Pag-
 “ liano, who with all his family were strangled,
 “ save this only man, that escaped by foresight of
 “ the tempest. With him I had often much chat
 “ of those affairs; into which he took pleasure to
 “ look back from his native harbour; and at my de-
 “ parture toward Rome, which had been the center
 “ of his experience, I had won confidence enough
 “ to beg his advice, how I might carry myself se-
 “ curely there, without offense of others, or of my
 “ own conscience: Signor Arrigo meo, says he, i
 “ pensieri stretti, & il viso sciolto, that is, Your
 “ thoughts close, and Your countenance loose,
 “ will go safely over the whole world. Of which
 “ Delphian oracle (for so I have found it) Your
 “ judgment doth need no commentary; and there-
 “ fore, Sir, I will commit You with it to the best
 “ of all securities, God’s dear love, remaining Your
 “ friend, as much at command as any of longer
 “ date.

H. Wotton.

P. S. “ Sir, I have expressly sent this by my foot-
 “ boy to prevent Your departure, without some ac-
 “ knowledgment from me of the receipt of Your
 “ obliging letter, having myself thro’ some business,
 “ I know not how, neglected the ordinary convey-
 “ ance. In any part where I shall understand You
 “ fixed, I shall be glad and diligent to entertain
 “ You with home-novelties, even for some fomen-
 “ tation of our friendship, too soon interrupted in
 “ the cradle.”

Soon after this he set out upon his travels, being
 of an age to make the proper improvements, and
 not

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rely to see fights and to learn the languages, most of our modern travelers, who go out and return such as we see, but such as I do choose to name. He was attended by only one, who accompanied him through all his travels, and he went first to France, where he had recommendations to the Lord Scudamore, the English Ambassador there at that time; and as soon as he came to Paris, he waited upon his Lordship, and was received with wonderful civility; and having an earnest desire to visit the learned Hugo Grotius, he was by the Lordship's means introduced to that great man, who was then Ambassador at the French court from the famous Christina Queen of Sweden; and they were each very much pleased to see a person, of whom they had heard such commendations. But at Paris he stayed long; his thoughts and his wishes hastened into Italy, and so after a few days he took leave of the Lord Scudamore, who very kindly gave him letters to the English merchants in the several places thro' which he was to travel, requesting them to do him all the good offices which lay in their power.

From Paris he went directly to Nice, where he took shipping for Genoa, from whence he went to Rome, and thence to Pisa, and so to Florence, in which city he found sufficient inducements to make his stay of two months. For besides the curiosities and other beauties of the place, he took great delight in the company and conversation there, and frequented their academics as they are called, the meetings of the most polite and ingenious persons, which they have in this, as well as in the other

principal cities of Italy, for the exercise and improvement of wit and learning among them. And in these conversations he bore so good a part, and produced so many excellent compositions, that he was soon taken notice of, and was very much courted and caressed by several of the nobility and prime wits of Florence. For the manner is, as he says himself in the preface to his second book of the Reason of Church-government, that every one must give some proof of his wit and reading there, and his productions were received with written encomiums which the Italian is not forward to bestow on men of this side the Alps. Giacomo Gaddi, Antonio Francini, Carlo Dati, Beneditto Bonmathei, Cultellino, Frefcobaldi, Clementilli are reckoned among his particular friends. At Gaddi's house the academies were held, which he constantly frequented. Antonio Francini composed an Italian ode in his commendation. Carlo Dati wrote a Latin eulogium of him, and corresponded with him after his return to England. Bonmathei was at that time about publishing an Italian grammar; and the eighth of our author's familiar epistles, dated at Florence Sept. 10. 1638, is addressed to him upon that occasion, commending his design, and advising him to add some observations concerning the true pronounciation of that language for the use of foreigners.

So much good acquaintance would probably have detained him longer at Florence, if he had not been going to Rome, which to a curious traveler is certainly the place the most worth seeing of any in the world. And so he took leave of his friends at Florence, and went from thence to Sienna, and from
Sienna

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na to Rome, where he stayed much about the
time that he had continued at Florence, feast-
both his eyes and his mind, and delighted with
fine paintings, and sculptures, and other rarities
antiquities of the city, as well as with the con-
tion of several learned and ingenious men, and
cularly of Lucas Holstenius, keeper of the Va-
library, who received him with the greatest
ianity, and showed him all the Greek authors,
ther in print or in manuscript, which had passed
his correction; and also presented him to Car-
l Barberini, who at an entertainment of music,
rmed at his own expense, waited for him at
loor, and taking him by the hand brought him
the assembly. The next morning he waited
the Cardinal to return him thanks for his civi-
, and by the means of Holstenius was again in-
uced to his Eminence, and spent some time in
versation with him. It seems that Holstenius
studied three years at Oxford, and this might
use him to be more friendly to the English, but
ook a particular liking and affection to Milton;
Milton, to thank him for all his favors, wrote
him afterwards from Florence the ninth of his
liar epistles. At Rome too Selvaggi made a
n distich in honor of Milton, and Salfilli a
n tetraстich, celebrating him for his Greek and
a and Italian poetry; and he in return presented
dfilli in his sickness those fine Scazons, or Iambic
s having a spondee in the last foot, which are
ted among his juvenile poems.
rom Rome he went to Naples, in company with
rtain hermit; and by his means was introduced

to the acquaintance of Giovanni Baptista Manso, Marquis of Villa, a Neapolitan nobleman, of singular merit and virtue, to whom Tasso addresses his dialogue of friendship, and whom he mentions likewise in his *Gierusalemme Liberata* with great honor. This nobleman was particularly civil to Milton, frequently visited him at his lodgings, and went with him to show him the Viceroy's palace, and whatever was curious or worth notice in the city: and moreover he honored him so far as to make a Latin distich in his praise, which is printed before our author's Latin poems, as is likewise the other of Selvaggi, and the Latin tetrastich of Salsilli together with the Italian ode and the Latin eulogium before mentioned. We may suppose that Milton was not a little pleased with the honors conferred upon him by so many persons of distinction, and especially by one of such quality and eminence as the Marquis of Villa; and as a testimony of his gratitude he presented to the Marquis at his departure from Naples his eclogue intitled *Mansus*, which is well worth reading among his Latin poems. So that it may be reckoned a peculiar felicity of the Marquis of Villa's life, to have been celebrated both by Tasso and Milton, the one the greatest modern poet of his own, and the other the greatest of foreign nations.

Having seen the finest parts of Italy, Milton was now thinking of passing over into Sicily and Greece, when he was diverted from his purpose by the news from England, that things were tending to a civil war between the King and Parliament; for he thought it unworthy of himself to be taking his pleasure abroad, while his countrymen were contend-
ing

for Liberty at home. He resolved therefore to return by the way of Rome, tho' he was advised to the contrary by the merchants, who had received intelligence from their correspondents, that the English merchants there were forming plots against him, in case he should return thither, by reason of the great freedom which he had used in all his discourses of religion. For he had by no means observed the rule, recommended to him by Sir Henry Wotton, of keeping his thoughts close and his countenance open: he had visited Galileo, a prisoner to the Inquisition, asserting the motion of the earth, and thinking otherwise in astronomy than the Dominicans and Jesuits thought: And tho' the Marquis of Villafranca had shown him such distinguishing marks of favor at Naples, yet he told him at his departure that he would have shown him much greater, if he had been more reserved in matters of religion. But he had a soul above dissimulation and disguise; he was never afraid, nor ashamed to vindicate the truth, if any man had, he had in him the spirit of an martyr. He was so prudent indeed, that he would not of his own accord begin any discourse of religion; but at the same time he was so honest, that if he was questioned at all about his faith, he would not dissemble his sentiments, whatever was the consequence. And with this resolution he went to Rome the second time, and stayed there two months more, neither concealing his name, nor declining to defend the truth, if any thought proper to attack him: and yet, God's good providence protecting him, he came safe to his kind friends at Florence, where he was received with as much

joy and affection, as if he had returned into his own country.

Here likewise he stayed two months, as he had done before, excepting only an excursion of a few days to Lucca: and then crossing the Apennine, and passing thro' Bologna and Ferrara, he came to Venice, in which city he spent a month; and having shipped off the books, which he had collected in his travels, and particularly a chest or two of choice music books of the best masters flourishing about that time in Italy, he took his course thro' Verona, Milan, and along the lake Lemane to Geneva. In this city he tarried some time, meeting here with people of his own principles, and contracted an intimate friendship with Giovanni Deodati, the most learned professor of divinity, whose annotations upon the Bible are published in English. And from thence returning thro' France, the same way that he had gone before, he arrived safe in England, after a peregrination of one year and about three months, having seen more, and learned more, and conversed with more famous men, and made more real improvements, than most others in double the time.

His first business after his return was to pay his duty to his father, and to visit his other friends; but this pleasure was much diminished by the loss of his dear friend and schoolfellow Charles Deodati in his absence. While he was abroad, he heard it reported that he was dead; and upon his coming home he found it but too true, and lamented his death in an excellent Latin eclogue intituled *Epitaphium Damonis*. This Deodati had a father originally of Lucca, but his mother was English, and he was born and bred
in

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England, and studied physic, and was an admirable scholar, and no less remarkable for his sobriety and other virtues than for his great learning and ingenuity. One or two of Milton's familiar letters are addressed to him; and Mr. Toland says, he had in his hands two Greek letters of Decartes to Milton, very handsomely written. It may be a great advantage for scholars now and then to exercise themselves in Greek and Latin; but we have much more frequent occasion to write letters in our own native language, and in that therefore we should principally endeavor to excel.

Milton, soon after his return, had taken a lodging with one Ruffel's, a taylor, in St. Bride's Church-lane; but he continued not long there, having not sufficient room for his library and furniture; and therefore determined to take a house, and accordingly took a handsome garden-house in Aldersgate-street, situated at the end of an entry, which was the more desirable to a studious man for its privacy and freedom from noise and disturbance. And in this house he continued several years, and his sister's two sons were put to board with him, first the younger and afterwards the elder: and some other of his intimate friends requested of him the same favor for their children, especially since there was little more trouble in instructing half a dozen than two or three: and he, who could not easily deny any thing to his friends, who knew that the greatest men in all ages had been delighted in teaching others the principles of knowledge and virtue, undertook the office, not out of any sordid and mercenary views, but merely from a benevolent disposition, and a desire to do good.
And

And his method of education was as much above the pedantry and jargon of the common schools, as his genius was superior to that of a common school-master. One of his nephews has given us an account of the many authors both Latin and Greek, which (besides those usually read in the schools) thro' his excellent judgment and way of teaching were run over within no greater compass of time, than from ten to fifteen or sixteen years of age. Of the Latin the four authors concerning husbandry, Cato, Varro, Columella, and Palladius, Cornelius Celsus the physician, a great part of Pliny's Natural History, the Architecture of Vitruvius, the Stratagems of Frontinus, and the philosophical poets Lucretius and Manilius. Of the Greek Hesiod, Aratus's *Phænomena* and *Diosemeia*, Dionysius *Afer de situ orbis*, Oppian's *Cynegetics* and *Halicutics*, Quintus Calaber's poem of the Trojan war continued from Homer, Apollonius Rhodius's *Argonautics*, and in prose Plutarch's *Placita philosophorum*, and of the education of children, Xenophon's *Cyropædia* and *Anabasis*, Ælian's *Tactics*, and the *Stratagems of Polyænus*. Nor did this application to the Greek and Latin tongues hinder the attaining to the chief oriental languages, the Hebrew, Chaldee and Syriac, so far as to go thro' the Pentateuch or five books of Moses in Hebrew, to make a good entrance into the Targum or Chaldee paraphrase, and to understand several chapters of St. Matthew in the Syriac Testament; besides the modern languages, Italian and French, and a competent knowledge of the mathematics and astronomy. The Sunday's exercise for his pupils was for the most part to read a chapter of

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he Greek Testament, and to hear his learned
dition of it. The next work after this was to
e from his dictation some part of a system of
uity, which he had collected from the ablest di-
t, who had written upon that subject. Such
; his academic institutions; and thus by teaching
rs he in some measure enlarged his own know-
e; and having the reading of so many authors
t were by proxy, he might possibly have pre-
d his sight, if he had not moreover been perpe-
y busied in reading or writing something him-

It was certainly a very recluse and studious
that both he and his pupils led; but the young
of that age were of a different turn from those
he present; and he himself gave an example to
e under him of hard study and spare diet; only
and then, once in three weeks or a month, he
le a gawdy day with some young gentlemen of
acquaintance, the chief of whom, says Mr. Phi-
were Mr. Alphry and Mr. Miller, both of
y's-Inn, and two of the greatest beaux of those
s.

ut he was not so fond of this academical life,
be an indifferent spectator of what was acted
the public stage of the world. The nation was
in a great ferment in 1641, and the clamor run
against the bishops, when he joined loudly in
cry, to help the puritan ministers, (as he says
self in his second Defense) they being inferior
e bishops in learning and eloquence; and pub-
d his two books, Of Reformation in England,
ten to a friend. About the same time certain
sters having published a treatise against episcopacy,
in

in answer to the Humble Remonstrance of Dr. Joseph Hall Bishop of Norwich, under the title of *Smectymnuus*, a word consisting of the initial letters of their names, Stephen Marshal, Edmund Calamy, Thomas Young, Matthew Newcomen, and William Spurstow; and Archbishop Usher having published at Oxford a refutation of *Smectymnuus*, in a tract concerning the Original of Bishops and Metropolitans; Milton wrote his little piece *Of Prelatical Episcopacy*, in opposition chiefly to Usher, for he was for contending with the most powerful adversary; there would be either less disgrace in the defeat, or more glory in the victory. He handled the subject more at large in his next performance, which was the *Reason of Church Government* urged against Prelaty, in two books. And Bishop Hall having published a *Defense of the Humble Remonstrance*, he wrote *Animadversions* upon it. All these treatises he published within the course of one year, 1641, which show how very diligent he was in the cause that he had undertaken. And the next year he set forth his *Apology for Smectymnuus*, in answer to the *Confutation of his Animadversions*, written as he thought himself by Bishop Hall or his son. And here very luckily ended a controversy, which detained him from greater and better writings which he was meditating, more useful to the public, as well as more suitable to his own genius and inclination: but he thought all this while that he was vindicating ecclesiastical liberty.

In the year 1643, and the 35th of his age, he married; and indeed his family was now growing so numerous, that it wanted a mistress at the head of it.

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His father, who had lived with his younger son Reading, was, upon the taking of that place by the forces under the Earl of Essex, necessitated to come and live in London with this his elder son, with whom he continued in tranquillity and devotion to his dying day. Some addition too was to be made to the number of his pupils. But before his father or his new pupils were come, he took a journey in the Whitfuntide vacation, and after a month's absence returned with a wife, Mary the eldest daughter of Mr. Richard Powell, of Foresthill or Shotover in Oxfordshire, a justice of the peace, and a gentleman of good repute and figure in that country. But she had not cohabited with her husband above a month, before she was earnestly solicited by her relations to come and spend the remaining part of the summer with them in the country. It was not at her instigation that her friends made such a request, yet at least it was agreeable to her inclination; and she obtained her husband's consent upon a promise of returning at Michaelmas. And the mean while his studies went on very vigorously; and his chief diversion, after the business of the day, was now and then in an evening to visit the lady Margaret Lee, daughter of the Earl of Marlbrough, Lord High Treasurer of England, and a confident of the Privy Council to King James I. This lady, being a woman of excellent wit and understanding, had a particular honor for our author, and took great delight in his conversation; likewise did her husband Captain Hobson, a very accomplished gentleman. And what a reward Milton again had for her, he has left upon record

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record in a sonnet to her praise, extant among his other poems.

Michaelmas was now come, but he heard nothing of his wife's return. He wrote to her, but received no answer. He wrote again letter after letter, but received no answer to any of them. He then dispatched a messenger with a letter, desiring her to return; but she positively refused, and dismissed the messenger with contempt. Whether it was, that she had conceived any dislike to her husband's person or humor; or whether she could not conform to his retired and philosophical manner of life, having been accustomed to a house of much gaiety and company; or whether being of a family strongly attached to the royal cause, she could not bear her husband's republican principles; or whether she was overpersuaded by her relations, who possibly might repent of having matched the eldest daughter of the family to a man so distinguished for taking the contrary party, the King's head-quarters being in their neighbourhood at Oxford, and his Majesty having now some fairer prospect of success; whether any or all of these were the reasons of this extraordinary behaviour; however it was, it so highly incensed her husband, that he thought it would be dishonorable ever to receive her again after such a repulse, and he determined to repudiate her as she had in effect repudiated him, and to consider her no longer as his wife. And to fortify this his resolution, and at the same time to justify it to the world, he wrote the *Doctrin and Disciplin of Divorce*, wherein he endeavors to prove, that indisposition, unfitness, or contrariety of mind, proceeding from any
unchangeable

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able cause in nature, hindering and ever hinder the main benefits of conjugal society, are solace and peace, are greater reasons of than adultery or natural frigidity, especially be no children, and there be mutual consent ration. He published it at first without his out the stile easily betrayed the author; and rds a second edition, much augmented, with e; and he dedicated it to the Parliament of d with the Assembly of Divines, that as they en consulting about the general reformation kingdom, they might also take this particular domestic liberty into their consideration. en, as it was objected, that his doctrin was a otion, and a paradox that no body had ever before, he endeavored to confirm his own by the authority of others, and published in he Judgment of Martin Bucer &c: And as it ll objected, that his doctrin could not be re- d to Scripture, he published in 1645 his Te- don or Expositions upon the four chief places sture, which treat of marriage, or nullities in ge. At the first appearing of the Doctrin and in of Divorce the clergy raised a heavy outcry it, and daily solicited the Parliament to pass ensure upon it; and at last one of them, in on preached before the Lords and Commons lay of humiliation in August 1644, roundly rem, that there was a book abroad which d to be burnt, and that among their other ey ought to repent, that they had not yet d it with some mark of their displeasure. And Wood informs us, that upon Milton's publishing his
his

his three books of Divorce, the Assembly of Divines, that was then sitting at Westminster, took special notice of them; and notwithstanding his former services in writing against the Bishops, caused him to be summoned before the House of Lords: but that House, whether approving his doctrine, or not favoring his accusers, soon dismissed him. He was attacked too from the press as well as from the pulpit, in a pamphlet intitled Divorce at pleasure, and in another intitled an Answer to the Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, which was licenced and recommended by Mr. Joseph Caryl, a famous Presbyterian Divine, and author of a voluminous commentary on the book of Job: and Milton in his Colasterion or Reply published in 1645 expostulates smartly with the licencer, as well as handles very roughly the nameless author. And these provocations, I suppose, contributed not a little to make him such an enemy to the Presbyterians, to whom he had before distinguished himself a friend. He composed likewise two of his sonnets on the reception his book of Divorce met with, but the latter is much the better of the two. To this account it may be added from Antony Wood, that after the King's restoration, when the subject of divorce was under consideration with the Lords upon the account of John Lord Roos or Roos his separation from his wife Anne Pierpoint eldest daughter to Henry Marquis of Dorchester, he was consulted by an eminent member of that House, and about the same time by a chief officer of state, as being the prime person who was knowing in that affair.

But

But while he was engaged in this controversy of divorce, he was not so totally engaged in it, but he attended to other things; and about this time published his letter of Education to Mr. Samuel Hartlib, who wrote some things about husbandry, and was a man of considerable learning, as appears from the letters which passed between him and the famous Mr. Mede, and from Sir William Petty's and Pell the mathematician's writing to him, the former his treatise for the Advancement of some particular parts of learning, and the latter his Idea of the Mathematics, as well as from this letter of our author. This letter of our author has usually been printed at the end of his poems, and is as I may say the theory of his own practice; and by the rules which he has laid down for education we see in some measure the method that he pursued in educating his own pupils. And in 1644 he published his Arcopagitica or Speech for the liberty of unlicenced printing to the Parliament of England. It was written at the desire of several learned men, and is perhaps the best vindication, that has been published at any time or in any language, of that liberty which is the basis and support of all other liberties, the liberty of the press: but alas it had not the desired effect; for the Presbyterians were as fond of exercising the licensing power, when they got it into their own hands, as they had been clamorous before in inveighing against it, while it was in the hands of the Prelates. And Mr. Toland is mistaken in saying, "that such was the effect of this piece, that the following year Mabol a licencer offered reasons against licencing; and at his own request was discharged that office."

For neither was the licencer's name Mabol, but Gilbert Mabbot; neither was he discharged from his office till May 1649, about five years afterwards, tho' probably he might be swayed by Milton's arguments, as every ingenuous person must, who peruses and considers them. And in 1645 was published a collection of his poems, Latin and English, the principal of which are On the morning of Christ's nativity, L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, Lycidas, the Mask &c &c: and if he had left no other monuments of his poetical genius behind him, these would have been sufficient to have rendered his name immortal.

But without doubt his Doctrin of Divorce and the maintenance of it principally engaged his thoughts at this period; and whether others were convinced or not by his arguments, he was certainly convinced himself that he was in the right; and as a proof of it he determined to marry again, and made his addresses to a young lady of great wit and beauty, one of the daughters of Dr. Davis. But intelligence of this coming to his wife, and the then declining state of the King's cause, and consequently of the circumstances of Justice Powell's family, caused them to set all engines on work to restore the wife again to her husband. And his friends too for different reasons seem to have been as desirous of bringing about a reconciliation as her's, and this method of effecting it was concerted between them. He had a relation, one Blackborough, living in the lane of St. Martin's Le Grand, whom he often visited; and one day when he was visiting there, it was contrived that the wife should be ready in another room; and as he was thinking of nothing less, he was surpris'd to

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her, whom he had expected never to have seen more, falling down upon her knees at his feet, imploring his forgiveness with tears. At first he showed some signs of aversion, but he continued not inexorable; his wife's intreaties, and the intercession of friends on both sides soon wrought upon his generous nature, and procured a happy reconciliation with an act of oblivion of all that was past. He did not take his wife home immediately; it was agreed that she should remain at a friend's till his house, that he had newly taken, was fitted for her reception; for some other gentlemen of his acquaintance, having observed the great success of his method of education, had recommended their sons to his care; and his house in Aldersgate-street not being large enough, he had taken a larger in Barbican: and till this could be got ready, the place was hired upon for his wife's abode was the widow Barber's house in St. Clement's Churchyard, whose son and daughter had been married to the other brother many years before. The part, that Milton played in this whole affair, showed plainly that he had a spirit capable of the strongest resentment, but yet was inclinable to pity and forgiveness: and neither was there any injury done to the other lady, whom he was courting, for she is said to have been always absent from the motion, not daring I suppose to venture in marriage with a man who was known to have a wife still living. He might not think himself too at liberty as before, while his wife continued obstinate; his most plausible argument for divorce proceeds upon a supposition, that the thing be done with mutual consent.

After his wife's return his family was increased not only with children, but also with his wife's relations, her father and mother, her brothers and sisters, coming to live with him in the general distress and ruin of the royal party: and he was so far from resenting their former ill treatment of him, that he generously protected them, and entertained them very hospitably, till their affairs were accommodated thro' his interest with the prevailing faction. And then upon their removal, and the death of his own father, his house looked again like the house of the Muses: but his studies had like to have been interrupted by a call to public business; for about this time there was a design of constituting him Adjutant General in the army under Sir William Waller; but the new modeling of the army soon following, that design was laid aside. And not long after, his great house in Barbican being now too large for his family, he quitted it for a smaller in High Holborn, which opened backward into Lincoln's Inn Fields, where he prosecuted his studies till the King's trial and death, when the Presbyterians declaiming tragically against the King's execution, and asserting that his person was sacred and inviolable, provoked him to write the *Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, proving that it is lawful to call a tyrant to account and to depose and put him to death, and that they who of late so much blame deposing are the men who did it themselves: and he published it at the beginning of the year 1649, to satisfy and compose the minds of the people. Not long after this he wrote his *Observations on the articles of peace between the Earl of Ormond and the Irish rebels*. And in these and
all

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is writings, whatever others of different parties think, he thought himself an advocate for true ty, for ecclesiastical liberty in his treatises against bishops, for domestic liberty in his books of ce, and for civil liberty in his writings against ing in defense of the parliament and people of and.

fter this he retired again to his private studies; thinking that he had leisure enough for such a k, he applied himself to the writing of a History England, which he intended to deduce from the est accounts down to his own times: and he had ed four books of it, when neither courting nor cting any such preferment, he was invited by Council of State to be their Latin Secretary for gn affairs. And he served in the same capacity er Oliver, and Richard, and the Rump, till the toration; and without doubt a better Latin pen ld not have been found in the kingdom. For Republic and Cromwell scorned to pay that tri- to any foreign prince, which is usually paid to French king, of managing their affairs in his uage; they thought it an indignity and mean- , to which this or any free nation ought not to sub- ; and took a noble resolution neither to write any rs to any foreign states, nor to receive any vers from them, but in the Latin tongue, which common to them all. And it would have been l, if succeeding princes had followed their ex- ale; for in the opinion of very wise men, the versality of the French language will make way the universality of the French monarchy.

But it was not only in foreign dispatches that the government made use of his pen: He had discharged the business of his office a very little time, before he was called to a work of another kind. For soon after the King's death was published a book under his name intitled *Εικων Βασιλικη*, or the royal image: and this book, like Cæsar's last will, making a deeper impresson, and exciting greater commiseration in the minds of the people, than the King himself did while alive, Milton was ordered to prepare an answer to it, which was published by authority, and intitled *Εικονοκλασης* or the image-breaker, the famous surname of many Greek emperors, who in their zeal against idolatry broke all superstitious images to pieces. This piece was translated into French; and two replies to it were published, one in 1651, and the other in 1692; upon the reprinting of Milton's book at Amsterdam. In this controversy a heavy charge hath been alleged against Milton. Some editions of the King's book have certain prayers added at the end, and among them a prayer in time of captivity, which is taken from that of Pamela in Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*: and it is said, that this prayer was added by the contrivance and artifice of Milton, who together with Bradshaw prevailed upon the printer to insert it, that from thence he might take occasion to bring a scandal upon the King, and to blast the reputation of his book, as he hath attempted to do in the first section of his answer. This fact is related chiefly upon the authority of Henry Hills the printer, who had frequently affirmed it to Dr. Gill and Dr. Bernard his physicians, as they themselves have testified. But Hills was not himself
the

printer, who was dealt with in this manner, and frequently he could have the story only from hearsay: and tho' he was Cromwell's printer, yet afterwards he turned papist in the reign of James II, in order to be that king's printer, and it was at that time that he used to relate this story; so that, I think, little credit is due to his testimony. And indeed I cannot but hope and believe, that Milton was a soul above being guilty of so mean an action to serve so mean a purpose; and there is as little reason for fixing it upon him, as he had to traduce the King for profaning the duty of prayer "with the polluted trash of romances." For there are not any finer prayers in the best books of devotion, than the King might as lawfully borrow and apply it on his own occasions, as the Apostle might make quotations from Heathen poems and plays: and it became Milton the least of all men to bring such an accusation against the King, as he was himself particularly fond of reading romances, and has made use of them in some of the best and latest of his writings. But his most celebrated work in prose is his Defense of the people of England against Salmasius, *Defensio populo Anglicano contra Claudii Anonymi, alias Maslani, Defensionem Regiam*. Salmasius, by birth a Dutchman, succeeded the famous Scaliger as honorary professor of the university of Leyden, and had gained great reputation by his Plinian Exercitations on Solon, and by his critical remarks on several Latin and Greek authors, and was generally esteemed one of the greatest and most consummate scholars of that age: and is commended by Milton himself in his Reason of Church Government, and called the

learned Salmasius. And besides his great learning he had extraordinary talents in railing. " This prince " of scholars, as some body said of him, seemed to " have erected his throne upon a heap of stones, " that he might have them at hand to throw at every " one's head who passed by." He was therefore courted by Charles II, as the most able man to write a defense of the late King his father and to traduce his adversaries, and a hundred Jacobuses were given him for that purpose, and the book was published in 1649 with this title *Defensio Regia pro Carolo I. ad Carolum II.* No sooner did this book appear in England, but the Council of State unanimously appointed Milton, who was then present, to answer it: and he performed the task with amazing spirit and vigor, tho' his health at that time was such, that he could hardly indure the fatigue of writing, and being weak in body he was forced to write by piece-meal, and to break off almost every hour, as he says himself in the introduction. This necessarily occasioned some delay, so that his Defense of the people of England was not made public till the beginning of the year 1651: and they who cannot read the original, may yet have the pleasure of reading the English translation by Mr. Washington of the Temple, which was printed in 1692, and is inserted among Milton's works in the two last editions. It was somewhat extraordinary, that Salmasius, a pensioner to a republic, should pretend to write a defense of monarchy; but the States showed their disapprobation by publicly condemning his book, and ordering it to be suppressed. And on the other hand Milton's book was burnt at Paris, and at Tolouse by the hands

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ls of the common hangman; but this served
to procure it the more readers: it was read and
ed of every where, and even they who were of
rent principles, yet could not but acknowledge
he was a good defender of a bad cause; and
rasius's book underwent only one impressi-
on, while this of Milton passed thro' several editions.
the first appearance of it, he was visited or in-
d by all the foreign ministers at London, not ex-
ing even those of crowned heads; and was par-
larly honored and esteemed by Adrian Paaw,
assador from the States of Holland. He was
wise highly complimented by letters from the
t learned and ingenious persons in France and
many; and Leonard Philaras, an Athenian born,
embassador from the Duke of Parma to the
ench king, wrote a fine encomium of his Defense,
sent him his picture, as appears from Milton's
er to Philaras dated at London in June 1652.
d what gave him the greatest satisfaction, the
k was highly applauded by those, who had de-
d him to undertake it; and they made him a pre-
: of a thousand pounds, which in those days of
gality was reckoned no inconsiderable reward for
performance. But the case was far otherwise
h Salmasius. He was then in high favor at the
rt of Christina Queen of Sweden, who had in-
d thither several of the most learned men of all
ntries: but when Milton's Defense of the people
England was brought to Sweden, and was read
the Queen at her own desire, he sunk imme-
tely in her esteem and the opinion of every body;
l tho' he talked big at first, and vowed the
destruction

press, that it may in a manner be called his own. It came forth in 1652 under this title, *Johannis Philippi Angli Responso ad Apologiam anonymi cujusdam tenebrionis pro rege & populo Anglicano infantissimum*; and it is printed with Milton's works; and throughout the whole Mr. Philips treats Bishop Bramhall with great severity as the author of the Apology, thinking probably that so considerable an adversary would make the answer more considerable.

Sir Robert Filmer likewise published some animadversions upon Milton's Defense of the people, in a piece printed in 1652, and intitled *Observations concerning the original of government*, upon Mr. Hobbes's *Leviathan*, Mr. Milton against *Salmafius*, and *Hugo Grotius de Jure belli*: but I do not find that Milton or any of his friends took any notice of it; but Milton's quarrel was afterwards sufficiently avenged by Mr. Locke, who wrote against Sir Robert Filmer's principles of government, more I suppose in condescension to the prejudices of the age, than out of any regard to the weight or importance of Filmer's arguments.

It is probable that Milton, when he was first made Latin Secretary, removed from his house in High Holborn to be nearer Whitehall: and for some time he had lodgings at one Thomson's next door to the Bull-head tavern at Charing-Cross, opening into Spring-Garden, till the apartment, appointed for him in Scotland-Yard, could be got ready for his reception. He then removed thither; and there his third child, a son was born and named John, who thro' the ill usage or bad constitution of the nurse died an infant. His own health too was
greatly

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greatly impaired; and for the benefit of the air, he removed from his apartment in Scotland-Yard to a house in Petty-France Westminster, which was next door to Lord Scudamore's, and opened into St. James's Park; and there he remained eight years, from the year 1652 till within a few weeks of the King's restoration. In this house he had not been settled long, before his first wife died in childbed; and his condition requiring some care and attendance, he was easily induced after a proper interval of time to marry a second, who was Catharine daughter of Captain Woodcock of Hackney: and she too died in childbed within a year after their marriage, and her child, who was a daughter, died in a month after her; and her husband has done honor to her memory in one of his sonnets.

Two or three years before this second marriage he had totally lost his sight. And his enemies triumphed in his blindness, and imputed it as a judgment upon him for writing against the King: but his sight had been decaying several years before, thro' his close application to study, and the frequent headaches to which he had been subject from his childhood, and his continual tampering with physic, which perhaps was more pernicious than all the rest: and he himself has informed us in his second Defense, that when he was appointed by authority to write his Defense of the people against Salmasius, he had almost lost the sight of one eye, and the physicians declared to him, that if he undertook that work, he would also lose the sight of the other: but he was nothing discouraged, and chose rather to lose both his eyes than desert what he thought his duty.

It

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It was the sight of his left eye that he lost first: and at the desire of his friend Leonard Philaras the Duke of Parma's minister at Paris he sent him a particular account of his case, and of the manner of his growing blind, for him to consult Thevenot the physician, who was reckoned famous in cases of the eyes. The letter is the fifteenth of his familiar epistles, and is dated Septemb. 28. 1654: but it does not appear what answer he received; we may presume, none that administered any relief. His blindness however did not disable him entirely from performing the business of his office. An assistant was allowed him, and his salary as secretary still continued to him.

And there was farther occasion for his service besides dictating of letters. For the controversy with Salmasius did not die with him, and there was published at the Hague in 1652 a book intitled the Cry of the King's blood &c, *Regii sanguinis Clamor ad cœlum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos.* The true author of this book was Peter du Moulin the younger, who was afterwards prebendary of Canterbury: and he transmitted his papers to Salmasius; and Salmasius intrusted them to the care of Alexander Morus, a French minister; and Morus published them with a dedication to King Charles II. in the name of Adrian Ulac the printer, from whence he came to be reputed the author of the whole. This Morus was the son of a learned Scotsman, who was president of the college, which the protestants had formerly at Castres in Languedoc; and he is said to have been a man of a most haughty disposition, and immoderately addicted to women, hasty, ambitious, full

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all of himself and his own performances, and satirical upon all others. He was however esteemed one of the most eminent preachers of that age among the protestants; but as Monsieur Bayle observes, his chief talent must have consisted in the acefulness of his delivery, or in those fallies of imagination and quaint turns and allusions, whereof his sermons are full; for they retain not those charms of reading, which they were said to have formerly in the pulpit. Against this man therefore, as the reputed author of *Regii sanguinis Clamor &c.*, Milton published by authority his *Second Defense of the people of England, Defensio Secunda pro populo Anglicano*, in 1654, and treats Morus with such severity as nothing could have excused, if he had not been provoked to it by so much abuse poured upon himself. There is one piece of his wit, which had been published before in the news-papers at London, a distich upon Morus for getting Pontia the maid-servant of his friend Salmasius with child.

Galli ex concubitu gravidam te, Pontia, Mori
Quis bene moratam morigeramque neget?

Upon this Morus published his *Fides Publica* in answer to Milton, in which he inserted several testimonies of his orthodoxy and morals signed by the universities, academies, synods, and magistrates of the places where he had lived; and disowned himself being the author of the book imputed to him, and appealed to two gentlemen of great credit with the parliament party, who knew the real author. This brought Du Moulin, who was then in England, into

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into great danger; but the government suffered him to escape with impunity, rather than they would publicly contradict the great patron of their cause. For he still persisted in his accusation, and endeavored to make it good in his *Defence* of himself, *Antoris pro se Defensio*, which was published in 1655, wherein he opposed to the testimonies in favor of Morus other testimonies against him; and Morus replied no more.

After this controversy was ended, he was at leisure again to pursue his own private studies, which were the *History of England* before mentioned, and a new *Thesaurus* of the Latin tongue, intended as an improvement upon that by Robert Stephens; a work, which he had been long collecting from the best and purest Latin authors, and continued at times almost to his dying day: but his papers were left so confused and imperfect, that they could not be fitted for the press, tho' great use was made of them by the compilers of the *Cambridge Dictionary* printed in 1693. These papers are said to have consisted of three large volumes in folio; and it is a great pity that they are lost, and no account is given what is become of the manuscript. It is commonly said too that at this time he began his famous poem of *Paradise Lost*; and it is certain, that he was glad to be released from those controversies, which detained him so long from following things more agreeable to his natural genius and inclination, tho' he was far from ever repenting of his writings in defense of liberty, but gloried in them to the last.

The only interruption now of his private studies was the business of his office. In 1655 there was published

published in Latin a writing in the name of the Lord Protector, setting forth the reasons of the war with Spain: and this piece is rightly adjudged to our author, both on account of the peculiar elegance of the style, and because it was his province to write such things as Latin Secretary; and it is printed among his other prose-works in the last edition. And for the same reasons I am inclined to think, that the famous Latin verses to Christina Queen of Sweden in the name of Cromwell were made by our author rather than Andrew Marvel. In those days they had admirable intelligence in the Secretary's office; and Mr. Philips relates a memorable instance or two upon his own knowledge. The Dutch were sending a plenipotentiary to England to treat of peace; but the emissaries of the government had the art to procure a copy of his instructions in Holland, which were delivered by Milton to his kinsman who was then with him, to translate them for the use of the Council, before the said plenipotentiary had taken shipping for England; and an answer to all that he had in charge was prepared, and lay ready for him before he made his public entry into London. Another time a person came to London with a very sumptuous train, pretending himself an agent from the Prince of Conde, who was then in arms against Cardinal Mazarine: but the government suspecting him set their instruments to work so successfully, that in a few days they received intelligence from Paris, that he was a spy employed by Charles II: whereupon the very next morning Milton's kinsman was sent to him with an order of Council, commanding him to depart the kingdom within three

days, or expect the punishment of a spy. The kinsman was in all probability Mr. Philips or his brother, who were Milton's nephews, and lived very much with him, and one or both of them were assistant to him in his office. His blindness no doubt was a great hindrance and inconvenience to him in his business, tho' sometimes a political use might be made of it; as men's natural infirmities are often pleaded in excuse for not doing what they have a great inclination to do. Thus when Cromwell, we may collect from Whitlock, for some reasons delayed artfully to sign the treaty concluded with Sweden, and the Swedish ambassador made frequent complaints of it, it was excused to him, because Mr. Milton on account of his blindness proceeded slower in business, and had not yet put the article of the treaty into Latin. Upon which the ambassador was greatly surpris'd, that things of such consequence should be intrusted to a blind man, for he must necessarily employ an amanuensis, and an amanuensis might divulge the articles; and said it was very wonderful, that there should be only one man in England who could write Latin, and he blind one. But his blindness had not diminished but rather increased the vigor of his mind: and state-letters will remain as authentic memorials those times, to be admired equally by critics and politicians; and those particularly about the sufferings of the poor protestants in Piedmont, who can read without sensible emotion? This was a subject that he had very much at heart, as he was an utter enemy to all sorts of persecution; and among his sonnets there is a most excellent one upon the same occasion.

But Oliver Cromwell being dead, and the government weak and unsettled in the hands of Richard and the Parliament, he thought it a seasonable time to offer his advice again to the public; and in 1659 published a Treatise of civil power in ecclesiastical causes; and another tract intitled Considerations touching the likeliest means to remove hirelings out of the church; both addressed to the Parliament of the commonwealth of England. And after the Parliament was dissolved, he wrote a Letter to some Statesman, with whom he had a serious discourse the night before, concerning the ruptures of the commonwealth; and another, as it is supposed, to General Monk, being a brief Delineation of a free commonwealth, easy to be put in practice, and without delay. These two pieces were communicated in manuscript to Mr. Toland by a friend, who a little after Milton's death had them from his nephew; and Mr. Toland gave them to be printed in the edition of our author's prose-works in 1698. But Milton, still finding that affairs were every day tending more and more to the subversion of the commonwealth and the restoration of the royal family, published his Ready and easy way to establish a free commonwealth, and the excellence thereof, compared with the inconveniences and dangers of admitting kingship in this nation. We are informed by Mr. Wood, that he published this piece in February 1659-60; and after this he published brief notes upon a late sermon intitled, the Fear of God and the King, preached by Dr. Matthew Griffith at Mercers Chapel March 25, 1660: so bold and resolute was he in declaring his sentiments to

the last, thinking that his voice was the voice of expiring liberty.

A little before the King's landing he was discharged from his office of Latin Secretary, and was forced to leave his house in Petty France, where he had lived eight years with great reputation, and had been visited by all foreigners of note, who could not go out of the country without seeing a man who did so much honor to it by his writings, and whose name was as well known and as famous abroad as in his own nation; and by several persons of quality of both sexes, particularly the pious and virtuous Lady Ranelagh, whose son for some time he instructed, the same who was Paymaster of the forces in King William's time; and by many learned and ingenious friends and acquaintance, particularly Andrew Marvel, and young Laurence, son to the President of Oliver's Council, to whom he has inscribed one of his sonnets, and Marchamont Needham the writer of *Politicus*, and above all Cyriac Skinner, whom he has honored with two sonnets. But now it was not safe for him to appear any longer in public, so that by the advice of some who wished him well and were concerned for his preservation, he fled for shelter to a friend's house in Bartholomew Close near West Smithfield, where he lay concealed till the worst of the storm was blown over. The first notice that we find taken of him was on Saturday the 16th of June 1660, when it was ordered by the House of Commons, that his Majesty should be humbly moved to issue his proclamation for the calling in of Milton's two books, his *Defense of the people and Iconoclastes*, and also Goodwyn's book

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intituled the Obstructors of justice, written in
ation of the murder of the late King, and to
them to be burnt by the hands of the common
nan. At the same time it was ordered, that
ttorney General should proceed by way of in-
ent or information against Milton and Good-
n respect of their books, and that they them-
should be sent for in custody of the Serjeant
ns attending the House. On Wednesday June
an order of Council was made agreeable to the
of the House of Commons for a proclamation
t Milton's and Goodwyn's books; and the pro-
tion was issued the 13th of August following,
in it was said that the authors had fled or did
nd: and on Monday August 27th Milton's
oodwin's books were burnt according to the
amation at the Old Baily by the hands of the
non hangman. On Wednesday August 29th
ct of indemnity was passed, which proved more
able to Milton than could well have been ex-
d; for tho' John Goodwyn Clerk was excepted
g the twenty persons, who were to have pe-
s inflicted upon them, not extending to life,
Milton was not excepted at all, and consequently
included in the general pardon. We find in-
that afterwards he was in custody of the Ser-
at arms; but the time, when he was taken in-
stody, is not certain. He was not in custody
ie 12th of September, for that day a list of the
ners in custody of the Serjeant at arms was
in the House, and Milton is not among them;
on the 13th of September the House adjourned
ie 6th of November. It is most probable there-

fore, that after the act of indemnity was passed, and after the House had adjourned, he came out of his concealment, and was afterwards taken into custody of the Serjeant at arms by virtue of the former order of the House of Commons: but we cannot find that he was prosecuted by the Attorney General, nor was he continued in custody very long: for on Saturday the 15th of December 1660, it was ordered by the House of Commons, that Mr. Milton now in custody of the Serjeant at arms should be forthwith released, paying his fees; and on Monday the 17th of December, a complaint being made that the Serjeant at arms had demanded excessive fees for his imprisonment, it was referred to the Committee of privileges and elections to examin this business, and to call Mr. Milton and the Serjeant before them, and to determin what was fit to be given to the Serjeant for his fees in this case; so courageous was he at all times in defense of liberty against all the encroachments of power, and tho' a prisoner, would yet be treated like a freeborn Englishman. This appears to be the matter of fact, as it may be collected partly from the Journals of the House of Commons, and partly from Kennet's Historical Register: and the clemency of the government was surely very great towards him, considering the nature of his offenses; for tho' he was not one of the King's judges and murderers, yet he contributed more to murder his character and reputation than any of them all: and to what therefore could it be owing, that he was treated with such lenity, and was so easily pardoned? It is certain, there was not wanting powerful intercession for him both in Council

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Council and in Parliament. It is said that Secretary Morrice and Sir Thomas Clargis greatly favored him, and exerted their interest in his behalf; and his old friend Andrew Marvel, member of Parliament for Hull, formed a considerable party for him in the House of Commons; and neither was Charles the second (as Toland says) such an enemy to the Muses, as to require his destruction. But the principal instrument in obtaining Milton's pardon was Sir William Davenant, out of gratitude for Milton's having procured his release, when he was taken prisoner in 1650. It was life for life. Davenant had been saved by Milton's interest, and in return Milton was saved at Davenant's intercession. This story Mr. Richardson relates upon the authority of Mr. Pope; and Mr. Pope had it from Betterton the famous actor, who was first brought upon the stage and patronized by Sir William Davenant, and might therefore derive the knowledge of this transaction from the fountain.

Milton having thus obtained his pardon, and being set at liberty again, took a house in Holborn near Lion Fields; but he removed soon into Jewen Street near Aldersgate Street: and while he lived here, being in his 53d or 54th year, and blind and infirm, and wanting some body better than servants to tend and look after him, he employed his friend Dr. Paget to choose a proper consort for him; and at his recommendation married his third wife, Elizabeth Minshul, of a gentleman's family in Cheshire, and related to Dr. Paget. It is said that an offer was made to Milton, as well as to Thurloe, of holding the same place of Secretary under the King,

which he had discharged with so much integrity and ability under Cromwell; but he persisted in refusing it, tho' the wife pressed his compliance; "Thou art in the right, says he; you, as other women, would ride in your coach; for me, my aim is to live and die an honest man." What is more certain is, that in 1661 he published his *Accedence commenced Grammar*, and a tract of Sir Walter Raleigh intitled *Aphorisms of State*; as in 1658 he had published another piece of Sir Walter Raleigh intitled the *Cabinet Council discabinated*, which he printed from a manuscript, that had lain many years in his hands, and was given him for a true copy by a learned man at his death, who had collected several such pieces: an evident sign, that he thought it no mean employment, nor unworthy of a man of genius, to be an editor of the works of great authors. It was while he lived in Jewen Street, that Elwood the quaker (as we learn from the history of his life written by his own hand) was first introduced to read to him; for having wholly lost his sight, he kept always some body or other to perform that office, and usually the son of some gentleman of his acquaintance, whom he took in kindness, that he might at the same time improve him in his learning. Elwood was recommended to him by Dr. Paget, and went to his house every afternoon except Sunday, and read to him such books in the Latin tongue, as Milton thought proper. And Milton told him, that if he would have the benefit of the Latin tongue, not only to read and understand Latin authors, but to converse with foreigners either abroad or at home, he must learn the foreign pronunciation;

nciation; and he instructed him how to read accordingly. And having a curious ear, he understood my tone, says Elwood, when I understood what read, and when I did not; and he would stop me, and examin me, and open the most difficult passages me. But it was not long after his third marriage, at he left Jewen Street, and removed to a house in e Artillery Walk leading to Bunhill Fields: and is was his last stage in this world; he continued nger in this house than he had done in any other, d lived here to his dying day: only when the igue began to rage in London in 1665, he re- voved to a small house at St. Giles Chalfont in ickinghamshire, which Elwood had taken for n and his family; and there he remained dur- g that dreadful calamity; but after the sickness is over, and the city was cleansed and made eily habitable again, he returned to his house in ondon.

His great work of Paradise Lost had principally gaged his thoughts for some years past, and was w completed. It is probable, that his first design writing an epic poem was owing to his conversa- ns at Naples with the Marquis of Villa about usso and his famous poem of the delivery of Je- salem; and in a copy of verses presented to that bleman before he left Naples, he intimated his in- tion of fixing upon King Arthur for his hero. id in an eclogue, made soon after his return to ngland upon the death of his friend and school- low Deodati, he proposed the same design d the same subject, and declared his ambition writing something in his native language, which

which might render his name illustrious in these islands, though he should be obscure and inglorious to the rest of the world. And in other parts of his works, after he had engaged in the controversies of the times, he still promised to produce some noble poem or other at a fitter season; but it doth not appear that he had then determined upon the subject, and King Arthur had another fate, being reserved for the pen of Sir Richard Blackmore. The first hint of *Paradise Lost* is said to have been taken from an Italian tragedy; and it is certain, that he first designed it a tragedy himself, and there are several plans of it in the form of a tragedy still to be seen in the author's own manuscript preserved in the library of Trinity College Cambridge. And it is probable, that he did not barely sketch out the plans, but also wrote some parts of the drama itself. His nephew Philips informs us, that some of the verses at the beginning of Satan's speech, addressed to the sun in the fourth book, were shown to him and some others as designed for the beginning of the tragedy, several years before the poem was begun: and many other passages might be produced, which plainly appear to have been originally intended for the scene, and are not so properly of the epic, as of the tragic strain. It was not till after he was disengaged from the Salmasian controversy, which ended in 1655, that he began to mold the *Paradise Lost* in its present form; but after the Restoration, when he was dismissed from public business, and freed from controversy of every kind, he prosecuted the work with closer application. Mr. Philips relates a very remarkable circumstance in the composition of this poem,

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in, which he says he had reason to remember, it was told him by Milton himself, that his mind never happily flowed but from the autumnal season to the vernal, and that what he attempted at other times was not to his satisfaction, tho' he exerted his fancy never so much. Mr. Toland begins that Philips might be mistaken as to the time, because our author, in his Latin elegy, written in his twentieth year, upon the approach of the spring, seemeth to say just the contrary, as if he could not make any verses to his satisfaction till the spring begun: and he says farther that a judicious friend of Milton's informed him, that he could never compose well but in spring and autumn. But Mr. Richardson cannot comprehend, that either of these accounts is exactly true, or that a man with a work in his head can suspend it for six months together, or only for one; it may go on more slowly, but it must go on: and this laying it idle is contrary to that eagerness to finish what was begun, which he says was his temper in his epistle Deodati dated Sept. 2. 1637. After all Mr. Philips, who had the perusal of the poem from the beginning, by twenty or thirty verses at a time, as it was composed, and having not been shown any for a considerable while as the summer came on, informed of the author the reason of it, could hardly be mistaken with regard to the time: and it is easy to conceive, that the poem might go on much more slowly in summer than in other parts of the year; for notwithstanding all that poets may say of the pleasures of that season, I imagine most persons will be by experience, that they can compose better at any

any other time, with more facility and with more spirit, than during the heat and languor of summer. Whenever the poem was wrote, it was finished in 1665, and as Elwood says was shown to him that same year at St. Giles Chalfont, whither Milton had retired to avoid the plague, and it was lent to him to peruse it and give his judgment of it: and considering the difficulties which the author lay under, his uneasiness on account of the public affairs and his own, his age and infirmities, his gout and blindness, his not being in circumstances to maintain an amanuensis, but obliged to make use of any hand that came next to write his verses as he made them, it is really wonderful, that he should have the spirit to undertake such a work, and much more, that he should ever bring it to perfection. And after the poem was finished, still new difficulties retarded the publication of it. It was in danger of being suppressed thro' the malice or ignorance of the licencer, who took exception at some passages, and particularly at that noble simile, in the first book, of the sun in an eclipse, in which he fancied that he had discovered treason. It was with difficulty too that the author could sell the copy; and he sold it at last only for five pounds, but was to receive five pounds more after the sale of 1300 of the first impression, and five pounds more after the sale of as many of the second impression, and five more after the sale of as many of the third, and the number of each impression was not to exceed 1500. And what a poor consideration was this for such an inestimable performance! and how much more do others get by the works of great authors, than
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the authors themselves! This original contract with Samuel Simmons the printer is dated April 27. 1667, and is in the hands of Mr. Tonson the bookfeller, as is likewise the manuscript of the first book copied fair for the press, with the *Impri-matur* by Thomas Tomkyns chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury: so that tho' Milton was forced to make use of different hands to write his verses from time to time as he had occasion, yet we may suppose that the copy for the press was written all, or at least each book by the same hand. The first edition in ten books was printed in a small quarto; and before it could be disposed of, had three or more different title pages of the years 1667, 1668, and 1669. The first fort was without the name of Simmons the printer, and began with the poem immediately following the title page, without any argument, or preface, or table of errata: to others was prefixed a short advertisement of the printer to the reader concerning the argument and the reason why the poem rimes not; and then followed the argument of the several books, and the preface concerning the kind of verse, and the table of errata: others again had the argument, and the preface, and the table of errata, without that short advertisement of the printer to the reader: and this was all the difference between them, except now and then of a point or a letter, which were altered as the sheets were printing off. So that, notwithstanding these variations, there was still only one impression in quarto; and two years almost elapsed, before 1300 copies could be sold, or before the author was intitled to his second five pounds, for which

which his receipt is still in being, and is dated April 26. 1669. And this was probably all that he received; for he lived not to enjoy the benefits of the second edition, which was not published till the year 1674, and that same year he died. The second edition was printed in a small octavo, and was corrected by the author himself, and the number of books was augmented from ten to twelve, with the addition of some few verses: and this alteration was made with great judgment, not for the sake of such a fanciful beauty as resembling the number of books in the *Æneid*, but for the more regular disposition of the poem, because the seventh and tenth books were before too long, and are more fitly divided each into two. The third edition was published in 1678; and it appears that Milton had left his remaining right in the copy to his widow, and she agreed with Simmons the printer to accept eight pounds in full of all demands, and her receipt for the money is dated December 21. 1680. But a little before this Simmons had covenanted to assign the whole right of copy to Brabazon Aylmer the bookseller for twenty five pounds; and Aylmer afterwards sold it to old Jacob Tonson at two different times, one half on the 17th of August 1683, and the other half on the 24th of March 1690, with a considerable advance of the price; and except one fourth of it which has been assign'd to several persons, his family have enjoyed the right of copy ever since. By the last assignment it appears, that the book was growing into repute and rising in valuation; and to what perverseness could it be owing that it was not better received at first? We conceive

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ceive there were principally two reasons; the prejudices against the author on account of his principles and party; and many no doubt were offended with the novelty of a poem that was not in rime. Rymer, who was a redoubted critic in those days, would not so much as allow it to be a poem on this account; and declared war against Milton as well as against Shakespear; and threatened that he would write reflections upon the Paradise Lost, which some (says he *) are pleased to call a poem, and would assert rime against the slender sophistry wherewith the author attacks it. And such a man as Bishop Burnet maketh it a sort of objection to Milton, that he affected to write in blank verse without rime. And the same reason induced Dryden to turn the principal parts of Paradise Lost into rime in his Opera called the State of innocence and Fall of man; to tag his lines, as Milton himself expressed it, alluding to the fashion then of wearing tags of metal at the end of their ribbons. We are told indeed by Mr. Richardson, that Sir George Hungerford, an ancient member of parliament, told him, that Sir John Denham came into the House one morning with a sheet of Paradise Lost wet from the press in his hand; and being asked what he had there, said that he had part of the noblest poem that ever was written in any language or in any age. However it is certain that the book was unknown till about two years after, when the Earl of Dorset produced it, as Mr. Richardson was informed by Dr. Tancred Robinson the physician, who had heard the story often from Fleetwood Shephard himself, that

* See Rymer's *Tragedies of the last age consider'd.* p. 143.

that the Earl, in company with Mr. Shephard, looking about for books in Little Britain, accidentally met with Paradise Lost; and being surpris'd at some passages in dipping here and there, he bought it. The bookseller begged his Lordship to speak in its favor if he liked it, for the impressi'on lay on his hands as waste paper. The Earl having read it sent it to Dryden, who in a short time returned it with this answer, "This man cuts us all out and the "Ancients too." Dryden's epigram upon Milton is too well known to be repeated; and those Latin verses by Dr. Barrow the physician, and the English ones by Andrew Marvel Esq; usually prefixed to the Paradise Lost, were written before the second edition, and were published with it. But still the poem was not generally known and esteem'd, nor met with the deserv'd applause, till after the edition in folio, which was published in 1688 by subscription. The Duke of Buckingham in his Essay on poetry prefers Tasso and Spenser to Milton: and it is related in the life of the witty Earl of Rochester, that he had no notion of a better poet than Cowley. In 1686 or thereabout Sir William Temple published the second part of his Miscellanies, and it may surprize any reader, that in his Essay on poetry he taketh no notice at all of Milton; nay he saith expressly that after Ariosto, Tasso, and Spenser, he knoweth none of the Moderns who have made any achievements in heroic poetry worth recording. And what can we think, that he had not read or heard of the Paradise Lost, or that the author's politics had prejudic'd him against his poetry? It was happy that all great men were not of his mind. The
bookseller

bookseller was advised and encouraged to undertake
 folio edition by Mr. Sommers, afterwards Lord
 Somers, who not only subscribed himself, but was
 very active in promoting the subscription: and in the list
 of subscribers we find some of the most eminent
 names of that time, as the Earl of Dorset, Waller,
 Denham, Dr. Aldrich, Mr. Atterbury, and among
 the rest Sir Roger Lestrange, tho' he had formerly
 written a piece intitled No blind guides &c against
 the Jesuits's Notes upon Dr. Griffith's sermon. There
 are two editions more in folio, one I think in
 1687, the other in 1695 which was the sixth edi-
 tion for the poem was now so well received, that
 notwithstanding the price of it was four times greater
 than before, the sale increased double the number
 of copies in a year; as the bookseller, who should best
 be consulted, has informed us in his dedication of the
 later editions to Lord Sommers. Since that time
 many various editions have been printed, but also
 many notes and translations. The first person who
 made annotations upon Paradise Lost was P. H. or
 John Hume, of whom we know nothing, unless
 some name may lead us to some knowledge of his
 history, but he has the merit of being the first (as
 is known) who wrote notes upon Paradise Lost, and his
 notes were printed at the end of the folio edition in
 1687. Mr. Addison's Spectators upon the subject
 contributed not a little to establishing the character,
 illustrating the beauties of the poem. In 1732
 appeared Dr. Bentley's new edition with notes: and
 soon following Dr. Pearce published his Review
 of the text, in which the chief of Dr. Bentley's
 emendations are considered, and several other emenda-
 tions

tions and observations are offered to the public. A the year after that Messieurs Richardson, father and son, published their Explanatory notes and remarks. The poem has also been translated into several languages, Latin, Italian, French, and Dutch; and proposals have been made for translating it into Greek. The Dutch translation is in blank verse, and printed at Harlem. The French have a translation by Mons. Dupré de S. Maur; but nothing shows the weakness and imperfection of their language more, than that they have few or no good poetical versions of the greatest poets; they are forced to translate Homer, Virgil, and Milton into prose: in blank verse their language has not harmony and dignity enough to support; their tragedies, and many of their comedies are in rhyme. Rolli, the famous Italian master here in England, made an Italian translation; and Mr. Richardson the son of another at Florence in manuscript by the learned Abbè Salvini, the same who translated Addison's Cato into Italian. One William Hog or Hoger translated Paradise Lost, Paradise Regain'd, and Samson Agonistes into Latin verse in 1690; but his version is very unworthy of the originals. There is a better translation of the Paradise Lost by Mr. Thomas Power Fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge the first book of which was printed in 1691, the rest in manuscript is in the library of that College. The learned Dr. Trap has also published a translation into Latin verse; and the world is in expectation of another, that will surpass all the rest by Mr. William Dobson of New College in Oxford. So that by one means or other Milton is now considered

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idered as an English classic; and the *Paradise Lost* is generally esteemed the noblest and most sublime of modern poems, and equal at least to the best of the ancient; the honor of this country, and the envy and admiration of all others!

In 1670 he published his *History of Britain*, that art especially now called *England*. He began it above twenty years before, but was frequently interrupted by other avocations; and he designed to have brought it down to his own times, but stopped at the Norman conquest; for indeed he was not well able to pursue it any farther by reason of his blindness, and he was engaged in other more delightful studies, having a genius turned for poetry rather than history. When his *History* was printed, it was not printed perfect and entire; for the licencer expunged several passages, which reflecting upon the pride and superstition of the Monks in the Saxon times, were understood as a concealed satire upon the Bishops in Charles the second's reign. But the author himself gave a copy of his unlicensed papers to the Earl of Anglesea, who, as well as several of the nobility and gentry, constantly visited him: and in 1681 a considerable passage, which had been suppressed at the beginning of the third book, was published, containing a character of the Long Parliament and Assembly of Divines in 1641, which was inserted in its proper place in the last edition of 1738. Bishop Kennet begins his *Complete History of England* with this work of Milton, as being the best draught, the clearest and most authentic account of those early times: and his style is freer and easier than in most of his other works, more plain

and simple, less figurative and metaphorical, and better suited to the nature of history, has enough of the Latin turn and idiom to give it an air of antiquity, and sometimes rises to a surprising dignity and majesty.

In 1670 likewise his *Paradise Regain'd* and *Samson Agonistes* were licenced together, but were not published till the year following. It is somewhat remarkable, that these two poems were not printed by Simmons, the same who printed the *Paradise Lost*, but by J. M. for one Starkey in Fleetstreet: and what could induce Milton to have recourse to another printer? was it because the former was not enough encouraged by the sale of *Paradise Lost* to become a purchaser of the other copies? The first thought of *Paradise Regain'd* was owing to Elwood the quaker, as he himself relates the occasion in the history of his life. When Milton had lent him the manuscript of *Paradise Lost* at St. Giles Chalfont, as we said before, and he returned it, Milton asked him how he liked it, and what he thought of it: "Which I modestly, but freely told him, says Elwood; and after some further discourse about it, I pleasantly said to him, Thou hast said much of *Paradise Lost*, but what hast thou to say of *Paradise Found*? He made me no answer, but sat some time in a muse; then broke off that discourse, and fell upon another subject." When Elwood afterwards waited upon him in London, Milton showed him his *Paradise Regain'd*, and in a pleasant tone said to him, "This is owing to You, for You put it into my head by the question You put me at Chalfont, which before I had not thought of."

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It is commonly reported, that Milton himself preferred this poem to the *Paradise Lost*: but all that we can assert upon good authority is, that he could not indure to hear this poem cried down so much as it was, in comparison with the other. For certainly it is very worthy of the author, and contrary to what Mr. Toland relates, Milton may be seen in *Paradise Regain'd* as well as in *Paradise Lost*; if it is inferior in poetry, I know not whether it is not superior in sentiment; if it is less descriptive, it is more argumentative; if it doth not sometimes rise so high, neither doth it ever sink so low; and it has not met with the approbation it deserves, only because it has not been more read and considered. His subject indeed is confined, and he has a narrow foundation to build upon; but he has raised as noble a superstructure, as such little room and such scanty materials would allow. The great beauty of it is the contrast between the two characters of the Tempter and our Saviour, the artful sophistry and specious insinuations of the one refuted by the strong sense and manly eloquence of the other. This poem has also been translated into French together with some other pieces of Milton, *Lycidas*, *L'Allegro*, *Il Penseroso*, and the Ode on Christ's nativity: and in 1732 was printed a Critical Dissertation with notes upon *Paradise Regain'd*, pointing out the beauties of it, and written by Mr. Meadowcourt, Canon of Worcester: and the very learned and ingenious Mr. Jortin has added some observations upon this work at the end of his excellent *Remarks upon Spenser*, published in 1734: and indeed this poem of Milton, to be more admired, needs only to be

better known. His *Samson Agonistes* is the only tragedy that he has finished, tho' he has sketched out the plans of several, and proposed the subjects of more, in his manuscript preserved in Trinity College library: and we may suppose that he was determined to the choice of this particular subject by the similitude of his own circumstances to those of Samson blind and among the Philistins. This I conceive to be the last of his poetical pieces; and it is written in the very spirit of the Ancients, and equals, if not exceeds, any of the most perfect tragedies, which were ever exhibited on the Athenian stage, when Greece was in its glory. As this work was never intended for the stage, the division into acts and scenes is omitted. Bishop Atterbury had an intention of getting Mr. Pope to divide it into acts and scenes, and of having it acted by the King's Scholars at Westminster: but his commitment to the Tower put an end to that design. It has since been brought upon the stage in the form of an Oratorio; and Mr. Handel's music is never employed to greater advantage, than when it is adapted to Milton's words. That great artist has done equal justice to our author's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, as if the same spirit possessed both masters, and as if the God of music and of verse was still one and the same.

There are also some other pieces of Milton, for he continued publishing to the last. In 1672 he published *Artis Logicæ plenior Institutio ad Petri Rami methodum concinnata*, an Institution of Logic after the method of Petrus Ramus; and the year following, a treatise of true Religion and the best means to prevent the growth of popery, which had greatly

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ly increased thro' the connivance of the King, the more open encouragement of the Duke of k; and the same year his poems, which had printed in 1645, were reprinted with the addition of several others. His familiar epistles and academical exercises, *Epistolarum familiarium I. et Prolusiones quædam Oratoriæ in Collegio isti habitæ*, were printed in 1674; as was also translation out of Latin into English of the Pole's laration concerning the election of their king 1 III, setting forth the virtues and merits of prince. He wrote also a brief History of Mus; collected from the relations of several tra- s; but it was not printed till after his death in 2. He had likewise his state-letters transcribed he request of the Danish resident, but neither e they printed till after his death in 1676, and e translated into English in 1694; and to that slation a life of Milton was prefixed by his new Mr. Edward Philips, and at the end of that his excellent sonnets to Fairfax, Cromwell, Sir ry Vane, and Cyriac Skinner on his blindness e first printed. Besides these works which were ished, he wrote a system of divinity, which Toland says was in the hands of his friend ac Skinner, but where at present is uncertain. . Mr. Philips says, that he had prepared for the e an answer to some little scribbling quack in don, who had written a scurrilous libel against ; but whether by the dissuasion of friends, as king him a fellow not worth his notice, or for t other cause Mr. Philips knoweth not, this an- r was never published. And indeed the best

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vindicator of him and his writings hath been Time. Posterity hath univerſally paid that honor to his merits, which was denied him by great part of his contemporaries.

After a life thus ſpent in ſtudy and labors for the public he died of the gout at his houſe in Bunhill Row on or about the 10th of November 1674, when he had within a month completed the ſixty ſixth year of his age. It is not known when he was firſt attacked by the gout, but he was grievouſly afflicted with it ſeveral of the laſt years of his life, and was weakened to ſuch a degree, that he died without a groan, and thoſe in the room perceived not when he expired. His body was decently interred near that of his father (who had died very aged about the year 1647) in the chancel of the Church of St. Giles's Cripplegate; and all his great and learned friends in London, not without a friendly concurrence of the common people, paid their laſt reſpects in attending it to the grave. Mr. Fenton in his ſhort but elegant account of the life of Milton, ſpeaking of our author's having no monument, ſays that " he deſired a friend to inquire at St. Giles's Church; where the ſexton ſhewed him a ſmall monument, which he ſaid was ſuppoſed to be Milton's; but the inſcription had never been legible ſince he was employed in that office, which he has poſſeſſed about forty years. This ſure could never have happened in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, unleſs the epitaph had been induſtriouſly eraſed: and that ſuppoſition, ſays Mr. Fenton, carries with it ſo much inhumanity, that I think we ought to believe it was not erected

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his memory." It is evident, that it was not
ted to his memory, and that the sexton was
aken. For Mr. Toland in his account of the
of Milton says, that he was buried in the chan-
of St. Giles's Church, " where the piety of his
imiters will shortly erect a monument becom-
g his worth and the encouragement of letters in
ing William's reign." This plainly implies, that
monument was erected to him at that time,
this was written in 1698: and Mr. Fenton's ac-
it was first published, I think, in 1725; so that
above twenty seven years intervned from the
account to the other; and consequently the sex-
who it is said had been possessed of his office
t forty years, must have been mistaken, and
monument must have been designed for some
person, and not for Milton. A monument in-
has been erected to his memory in Westminster
y by Auditor Benson in the year 1737; but
best monument of him is his writings.

his youth he was esteemed extremely hand-
; so that while he was a student at Cambridge,
as called the Lady of Christ's College. He had
y fine skin and fresh complexion, his hair was
light brown, and parted on the foretop hung
in curls waving upon his shoulders; his fea-
were exact and regular; his voice agreeable
musical; his habit clean and neat; his deport-
erect and manly. He was middle-sized and
proportioned, neither tall nor short, neither too
nor too corpulent, strong and active in his
ger years, and though afflicted with frequent
akes, blindness, and gout, was yet a comely
and

and well-looking man to the last. His eyes were of a light blue color, and from the first are said to have been none of the brightest; but after he lost the sight of them, (which happened about the 43d year of his age) they still appeared without spot or blemish, and at first view and at a little distance it was not easy to know that he was blind. Mr. Richardson had an account of him from an ancient clergyman in Dorsetshire, Dr. Wright, who found him in a small house, which had (he thinks) but one room on a floor; in that, up one pair of stairs, which was hung with a rusty green, he saw John Milton sitting in an elbow chair, with black clothes, and neat enough, pale but not cadaverous, his hands and fingers gouty, and with chalk stones; among other discourse he expressed himself to this purpose, that was he free from the pain of the gout, his blindness would be tolerable. But there is the less need to be particular in the description of his person, as the idea of his face and countenance is pretty well known from the numerous prints, pictures, busts, medals, and other representations which have been made of him. There are two pictures of greater value than the rest, as they are undoubted originals, and were in the possession of Milton's widow: the first was drawn when he was about twenty one, and is at present in the collection of the Right Honorable Arthur Onslow Esq; Speaker of the House of Commons; the other in crayons was drawn when he was about sixty two, and was in the collection of Mr. Richardson, but has since been purchased by Mr. Tonson. Several prints have been made from both these pictures; and there is a
print

print done, when he was about sixty two or sixty three, after the life by Faithorn, which tho' not so handsome, may yet perhaps be as true a resemblance, as any of them. It is prefixed to some of our author's pieces, and to the folio edition of his prose works in three volumes printed in 1698.

In his way of living he was an example of sobriety and temperance. He was very sparing in the use of wine or strong liquors of any kind. Let meaner poets make use of such expedients to raise their fancy and kindle their imagination. He wanted not any artificial spirits; he had a natural fire, and poetic warmth enough of his own. He was likewise very abstemious in his diet, not fastidiously nice or delicate in the choice of his dishes, but content with any thing that was most in season, or easiest to be procured, eating and drinking, (according to the distinction of the philosopher) that he might live, and not living that he might eat and drink. So that probably his gout descended by inheritance from one or other of his parents; or if it was of his own acquiring, it must have been owing to his studious and sedentary life. And yet he delighted sometimes in walking and using exercise, but we hear nothing of his riding or hunting; and having early learned to fence, he was such a master of his sword, that he was not afraid of resenting an affront from any man; and before he lost his sight, his principal recreation was the exercise of his arms; but after he was confined by age and blindness, he had a machine to swing in for the preservation of his health. In his youth he was accustomed to sit up late at his studies, and seldom went to bed before midnight; but

but afterwards, finding it to be the ruin of his eyes, and looking on this custom as very pernicious to health at any time, he used to go to rest early, seldom later than nine, and would be stirring in the summer at four, and in the winter at five in the morning; but if he was not disposed to rise at his usual hours, he still did not lie sleeping, but had some body or other by his bed side to read to him. At his first rising he had usually a chapter read to him out of the Hebrew Bible, and he commonly studied all the morning till twelve, then used some exercise for an hour, afterwards dined, and after dinner played on the organ, and either sung himself or made his wife sing, who (he said) had a good voice but no ear; and then he went up to study again till six, when his friends came to visit him and sat with him perhaps till eight; then he went down to supper, which was usually olives or some light thing; and after supper he smoked his pipe, and drank a glass of water, and went to bed. He loved the country, and commends it, as poets usually do; but after his return from his travels, he was very little there, except during the time of the plague in London. The civil war might at first detain him in town; and the pleasures of the country were in a great measure lost to him, as they depend mostly upon sight, whereas a blind man wanteth company and conversation, which is to be had better in populous cities. But he was led out sometimes for the benefit of the fresh air, and in warm sunny weather he used to sit at the door of his house near Bunhill Fields, and there as well as in the house received the visits of persons of quality

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quality and distinction; for he was no less visited to the last both by his own countrymen and foreigners, than he had been in his flourishing condition before the Restoration.

Some objections indeed have been made to his temper; and I remember there was a tradition in the university of Cambridge, that he and Mr. King (whose death he laments in his *Lycidas*) were competitors for a fellowship, and when they were both equal in point of learning, Mr. King was preferred by the college for his character of good nature, which was wanting in the other; and this was by Milton grievously resented. But the difference of their ages, Milton being at least four years elder, renders this story not very probable; and besides Mr. King was not elected by the college, but was made fellow by a royal mandate, so that there can be no truth in the tradition; but if there was any, it is no sign of Milton's resentment, but a proof of his generosity, that he could live in such friendship with a successful rival, and afterwards so passionately lament his decease. His method of writing controversy is urged as another argument of his want of temper: but some allowance must be made for the customs and manners of the time. Controversy, as well as war, was rougher and more barbarous in those days, than it is in these. And it is to be considered too, that his adversaries first began the attack; they loaded him with much more personal abuse, only they had not the advantage of so much wit to season it. If he had engaged with more candid and ingenuous disputants, he would have preferred civility and fair argument to wit and satire:

“ to

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“ to do so was my choice, and to have done thus
“ was my chance,” as he expresses himself in the
conclusion of one of his controversial pieces. All
who have written any accounts of his life agree, that
he was affable and instructive in conversation, of an
equal and chearful temper; and yet I can easily
believe, that he had a sufficient sense of his own
merits, and contempt enough for his adversaries.

His merits indeed were singular; for he was a
man not only of wonderful genius, but of immense
learning and erudition; not only an incomparable
poet, but a great mathematician, logician, historian,
and divine. He was a master not only of the Greek
and Latin, but likewise of the Hebrew, Chaldee,
and Syriac, as well as of the modern languages,
Italian, French, and Spanish. He was particularly
skilled in the Italian, which he always preferred to
the French language, as all the men of letters did at
that time in England; and he not only wrote elegantly
in it, but is highly commended for his writings by
the most learned of the Italians themselves, and
especially by the members of that celebrated
academy called della Crusca, which was established
at Florence for the refining and perfecting of the
Tuscan language. He had read almost all authors,
and improved by all, even by romances, of which
he had been fond in his younger years; and as the
bee can extract honey out of weeds, so (to use his
own words in his Apology for Smeectymnus)
“ those books, which to many others have been the
“ fuel of wantonness and loose living, proved to
“ him so many incitements to the love and ob-
“ servation of virtue.” His favorite author after
the

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the Holy Scriptures was Homer. Homer he could repeat almost all without book; and he was advised to undertake a translation of his works, which no doubt he would have executed to admiration. But (as he says of himself in his postscript to the Judgment of Martin Bucer) "he never could delight in long citations, much less in whole translations." And accordingly there are few things, and those of no great length, which he has ever translated. He was possessed too much of an original genius to be a mere copyer. "Whether it be natural disposition," says he, or education in me, or that my mother bore me a speaker of what God made my own, "and not a translator." And it is somewhat remarkable, that there is scarce any author, who has written so much, and upon such various subjects, and yet quotes so little from his contemporary authors, or so seldom mentions any of them. He praises Selden indeed in more places than one, but for the rest he appears disposed to censure rather than commend. After his severer studies, and after dinner as we observed before, he used to divert and unbend his mind with playing upon the organ or base-viol, which was a great relief to him after he had lost his sight; for he was a master of music as was his father, and he could perform both vocally and instrumentally, and it is said that he composed very well, tho' nothing of this kind is handed down to us. It is also said that he had some skill in painting as well as in music, and that somewhere or other there is a head of Milton drawn by himself: but he was blessed with so many real excellences, that there is no want of fictitious ones to raise

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raise and adorn his character. He had a quick apprehension, a sublime imagination, a strong memory, a piercing judgment, a wit always ready, and facetious or grave as the occasion required; and I know not whether the loss of his sight did not add vigor to the faculties of his mind. He at least thought so, and often comforted himself with that reflection.

But his great parts and learning have scarcely gained him more admirers, than his political principles have raised him enemies. And yet the darling passion of his soul was the love of liberty; this was his constant aim and end, however he might be mistaken in the means. He was indeed very zealous in what was called the good old cause, and with his spirit and his resolution it is somewhat wonderful, that he never ventured his person in the civil war; but tho' he was not in arms, he was not unactive, and thought, I suppose, that he could be of more service to the cause by his pen than by his sword. He was a thorough republican, and in this he thought like a Greek or Roman, as he was very conversant with their writings. And one day Sir Robert Howard, who was a friend to Milton as well as to the liberties of his country, and was one of his constant visitors to the last, inquired of him how he came to side with the republicans. Milton answered among other reasons, because theirs was the most frugal government, for the trappings of a monarchy might set up an ordinary commonwealth. But then his attachment to Cromwell must be condemned, as being neither consistent with his republican principles, nor with his love of liberty.

And

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and I know no other way of accounting for his conduct, but by presuming (as I think we may reasonably presume) that he was far from entirely approving of Cromwell's proceedings, but considered him as the only person who could rescue the nation from the tyranny of the Presbyterians, who were erecting a worse dominion of their own upon the ruins of prelatical episcopacy; and of things he dreaded spiritual slavery, and therefore joined with Cromwell and the Independents, as he expected under them greater liberty of conscience. And tho' he served Cromwell, yet it must be said of him, that he served a great master, and served him ably, and was not wanting from time to time in giving him excellent good advice, especially in his second Defense: and so little being said of him in all Secretary Thurloe's state-papers, it appears that he had no great share in the secrets and intrigues of government; what he dispatched was the more than matters of necessary form, letters and answers to foreign states; and he may be justified for acting in such a station, upon the same principle as Sir Matthew Hale for holding a Judge's commission under the usurper: and in the latter part of his life he frequently expressed to his friends his entire satisfaction of mind, that he had constantly employed his strength and faculties in the defense of liberty, and in opposition to slavery.

In matters of religion too he has given as great assistance, or even greater, than by his political principles. But still let not the infidel glory: no such man was ever of that party. He had the advantage of a pious education, and ever expressed the

profoudest reverence of the Deity in his words and actions, was both a Christian and a Protestant, and studied and admired the Holy Scriptures above all other books whatsoever; and in all his writings he plainly showeth a religious turn of mind, as well in verse as in prose, as well in his works of an earlier date as in those of later composition. When he wrote the Doctrin and Disciplin of Divorce, he appears to have been a Calvinist; but afterwards he entertained a more favorable opinion of Arminius. Some have inclined to believe, that he was an Arian; but there are more exprefs passages in his works to overthrow this opinion, than any there are to confirm it. For in the conclusion of his treatise of Reformation he thus solemnly invokes the Trinity;

“ Thou therefore that sittest in light and glory
 “ unapproachable, Parent of Angels and Men!
 “ next thee I implore Omnipotent King, Re-
 “ deemer of that lost remnant whose nature thou
 “ didst assume, ineffable and everlasting Love!
 “ And thou the third subsistence of divine infinitude,
 “ illumining Spirit, the joy and solace of
 “ created things! one Tri-personal Godhead! look
 “ upon this thy poor, and almost spent and ex-
 “ piring Church &c.” And in his tract of Pre-
 latical Episcopacy he endeavors to prove the spuriousness of some epistles attributed to Ignatius, because they contained in them heresies, one of which heresies is, that “ he condemns them for ministers of
 “ Satan, who say that Christ is God above all.” And a little after in the same tract he objects to the authority of Tertullian, because he went about to
 “ prove an imparity between God the Father, and
 “ God

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“ God the Son.” And in Paradise Lost we shall find nothing upon this head, that is not perfectly agreeable to Scripture. The learned Dr. Trap, who was as likely to cry out upon heresy as any man, asserts that the poem is orthodox in every part of it; or otherwise he would not have been at the pains of translating it. *Neque alienum videtur a studiis viri theologi poema magna ex parte theologicum; omni ex parte (rideant, per me licet, atque ringantur athei et infideles) orthodoxum.* Milton was indeed a dissenter from the Church of England, in which he had been educated, and was by his parents designed for holy orders, as we related before; but he was led away by early prejudices against the doctrine and discipline of the Church; and in his younger years was a favorer of the Presbyterians; in his middle age he was best pleased with the Independents and Anabaptists, as allowing greater liberty of conscience than others, and coming nearest in his opinion to the primitive practice; and in the latter part of his life he was not a professed member of any particular sect of Christians, he frequented no public worship, nor used any religious rite in his family. Whether so many different forms of worship he had seen, had made him indifferent to all forms; or whether he thought that all Christians had in some things corrupted the purity and simplicity of the Gospel; or whether he disliked their idle and uncharitable disputes, and that love of dominion and inclination to persecution, which he had seen as a piece of Popery inseparable from all churches; or whether he believed, that a man might be a good Christian without joining in any

communion ; or whether he did not look upon himself as inspired, as wrapt up in God, and above all forms and ceremonies, it is not easy to determin: *to his own master he standeth or falleth*: but if he was of any denomination, he was a sort of a Quietist, and was full of the interior of religion tho' he so little regarded the exterior ; and it is certain was to the last an enthusiast rather than an infidel. As enthusiasm made Norris a poet, so poetry might make Milton an enthusiast.

His circumstances were never very mean, nor very great ; for he lived above want, and was not intent upon accumulating wealth ; his ambition was more to enrich and adorn his mind. His father supported him in his travels, and for some time after. Then his pupils must have been of some advantage to him, and brought him either a certain stipend or considerable presents at least ; and he had scarcely any other method of improving his fortune, as he was of no profession. When his father died, he inherited an elder son's share of his estate, the principal part of which I believe was his house in Bread street : And not long after, he was appointed Latin Secretary with a salary of 200*l.* a year ; so that he was now in opulent circumstances for a man, who had always led a frugal and temperate life, and was at little unnecessary expense besides buying of books. Tho' he was of the victorious party, yet he was far from sharing in the spoils of his country. On the contrary (as we learn from his second Defense) he sustained great losses during the civil war, and was not at all favored in the imposition of taxes, but sometimes paid beyond his due proportion.

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ion. And upon a turn of affairs he was not only deprived of his place, but also lost 2000 *l.* which he had for security and improvement put into the Excise Office. He lost likewise another considerable sum for want of proper care and management, as persons of Milton's genius are seldom expert in money matters. And in the fire of London his house in Bread street was burnt, before which accident foreigners have gone out of devotion (*says Wood*) to see the house and chamber where he was born. His gains were inconsiderable in proportion to his losses; for excepting the thousand pounds, which were given him by the government for writing his Defense of the people against Salmasius, we may conclude that he got very little by the copies of his works, when it doth not appear that he received any more than ten pounds for *Paradise Lost*. Some time before he died he sold the greatest part of his library, as his heirs were not qualified to make a proper use of it, and as he thought that he could dispose of it to greater advantage than they could after his decease. And finally by one means or other he died worth one thousand five hundred pounds besides his household goods, which was no incompetent subsistence for him, who was as great a philosopher as a poet.

To this account of Milton it may be proper to add something concerning his family. We said before, that he had a younger brother and a sister. His brother Christopher Milton was a man of totally opposite principles; was a strong royalist, and after the civil war made his composition thro' his brother's interest; had been entered young a student in

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the Inner Temple, of which house he lived to be an ancient benchèr; and being a professed papist, was in the reign of James II. made a judge and knighted; but soon obtained his quietus by reason of his age and infirmities, and retired to Ipswich, where he lived all the latter part of his life. His sister Anne Milton had a considerable fortune given her by her father in marriage with Mr. Edward Philips (son of Mr. Edward Philips of Shrewsbury) who coming young to London was bred up in the Crown Office in Chancery, and at length became secondary of the office under Mr. Bembo. By him she had, besides other children who died infants, two sons Edward and John, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention before. Among our author's juvenile poems there is a copy of verses on the death of a fair infant, a nephew, or rather niece of his, dying of a cough; and this being written in his 17th year, as it is said in the title, it may naturally be inferred that Mrs. Philips was elder than either of her brothers. She had likewise two daughters, Mary who died very young, and Anne who was living in 1694, by a second husband Mr. Thomas Agar, who succeeded his intimate friend Mr. Philips in his place in the Crown Office, which he enjoyed many years, and left to Mr. Thomas Milton, son of Sir Christopher before mentioned. As for Milton himself he appears to have been no enemy to the fair sex by having had three wives. What fortune he had with any of them is nowhere said, but they were gentlemen's daughters; and it is remarkable that he married them all maidens, for (as he says in his Apology for Smectymnuus, which
was

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written before he married at all) he “thought
with them, who both in prudence and elegance
of spirit would choose a virgin of mean fortunes
honestly bred before the wealthiest widow.” But
he seemeth not to have been very happy in any
of his marriages; for his first wife had justly offended
him by her long absence and separation from him;
his second, whose love, sweetness, and goodness he
praises, lived not a twelvemonth with him; and
his third wife is said to have been a woman of a
violent spirit, and a hard mother in law to his
children. She died very old, about twenty years
at Nantwich in Cheshire: and from the ac-
counts of those who had seen her, I have learned,
she confirmed several things which have been
said before; and particularly that her husband
used to compose his poetry chiefly in winter, and on
waking in a morning would make her write
on sometimes twenty or thirty verses: and being
asked whether he did not often read Homer and
Virgil, she understood it as an imputation upon him
stealing from those authors, and answered with
modesty that he stole from no body but the Muse
who inspired him; and being asked by a lady present
how the Muse was, replied it was God’s grace, and
the Holy Spirit that visited him nightly. She was
further asked whom he approved most of our
English poets, and answered Spenser, Shakespear,
Cowley: and being asked what he thought of
John Denham, she said Dryden used sometimes to visit
him, but he thought him no poet, but a good
man: but this was before Dryden had composed
his best poems, which made his name so famous

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afterwards. She was wont moreover to say, that her husband was applied to by message from the King, and invited to write for the Court, but his answer was, that such a behaviour would be very inconsistent with his former conduct, for he had never yet employed his pen against his conscience. By his first wife he had four children, a son who died an infant, and three daughters who survived him; by his second wife he had only one daughter, who died soon after her mother, who died in childbed; and by his last wife he had no children at all. His daughters were not sent to school, but were instructed by a mistress kept at home for that purpose: and he himself, excusing the eldest on account of an impediment in her speech, taught the two others to read and pronounce Greek and Latin and several other languages, without understanding any but English, for he used to say that one tongue was enough for a woman: but this employment was very irksome to them, and this together with the sharpness and severity of their mother in law made them very uneasy at home; and therefore they were all sent abroad to learn things more proper for them, and particularly imbroidery in gold and silver. As Milton at his death left his affairs very much in the power of his widow, tho' she acknowledged that he died worth one thousand five hundred pounds, yet she allowed but one hundred pounds to each of his three daughters. Anne the eldest was decrepit and deformed, but had a very handsome face; she married a master-builder, and died in childbed of her first child, who died with her. Mary the second lived and died single. Deborah the youngest

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youngest in her father's life time went over to Ireland with a lady, and afterwards was married to Mr. Abraham Clarke, a weaver in Spittle Fields, and died in August 1727 in the 76th year of her age. She is said to have been a woman of good understanding and genteel behaviour, though in low circumstances. As she had been often called upon to read Homer and Ovid's Metamorphosis to her father, she could have repeated a considerable number of verses from the beginning of both these poets, as Mr. Ward, Professor of Rhetoric in Gresham College, relates upon his own knowledge: and another Gentleman has informed me, that he has heard her repeat several verses likewise out of Euripides. Mr. Addison, and the other gentlemen, who had opportunities of seeing her, knew her immediately to be Milton's daughter by the similitude of her countenance to her father's picture: and Mr. Addison made her a handsome present of a purse of guineas with a promise of procuring for her some annual provision for her life; but his death happening soon after, she lost the benefit of his generous design. She received presents likewise from several other gentlemen, and Queen Caroline sent her fifty pounds by the hands of Dr. Freind the physician. She had ten children, seven sons and three daughters; but none of them had any children, except one of her sons named Caleb, and one of her daughters named Elizabeth. Caleb went to Fort St. George in the East Indies, where he married, and had two sons, Abraham and Isaac; the elder of whom came to England with the late governor Harrison, but returned upon advice of his father's death, and whether he or his brother

brother be now living is uncertain. Elizabeth, the youngest child of Mrs. Clarke, was married to Mr. Thomas Foster a weaver in Spittle Fields, and had seven children who are all dead; and she herself is aged about sixty, and weak and infirm. She seemeth to be a good plain sensible woman, and has confirmed several particulars related above, and informed me of some others, which she had often heard from her mother: that her grandfather lost two thousand pounds by a money-scrivener, whom he had intrusted with that sum, and likewise an estate at Westminster of sixty pounds a year, which belonged to the Dean and Chapter, and was restored to them at the Restoration: that he was very temperate in his eating and drinking, but what he had he always loved to have of the best: that he seldom went abroad in the latter part of his life, but was visited even then by persons of distinction, both foreigners and others: that he kept his daughters at a great distance, and would not allow them to learn to write, which he thought unnecessary for a woman: that her mother was his greatest favorite, and could read in seven or eight languages, tho' she understood none but English: that her mother inherited his head-akes and disorders, and had such a weakness in her eyes, that she was forced to make use of spectacles from the age of eighteen; and she herself, she says, has not been able to read a chapter in the Bible these twenty years: that she was mistaken in informing Mr. Birch, what he had printed upon her authority, that Milton's father was born in France; and a brother of hers who was then living was very angry with her for it, and like a true-born English-

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man resented it highly, that the family should be thought to bear any relation to France: that Milton's second wife did not die in childbed, as Mr. Philips and Toland relate, but above three months after of a consumption; and this too Mr. Birch relates upon her authority; but in this particular she must be mistaken as well as in the other, for our author's sonnet on his deceased wife plainly implies, that she did die in childbed. She knows nothing of her aunt Philips or Agar's descendents, but believes that they are all extinct: as is likewise Sir Christopher Milton's family, the last of which, she says, were two maiden sisters, Mrs. Mary and Mrs. Catharine Milton, who lived and died at Highgate; but unknown to her, there is a Mrs. Milton living in Grosvenor street, the granddaughter of Sir Christopher, and the daughter of Mr. Thomas Milton before mentioned: and she herself is the only survivor of Milton's own family, unless there be some in the East Indies, which she very much questions, for she used to hear from them sometimes, but has heard nothing now for several years; so that in all probability Milton's whole family will be extinct with her, and he can live only in his writings. And such is the caprice of fortune, this granddaughter of a man, who will be an everlasting glory to the nation, has now for some years with her husband kept a little chandler's or grocer's shop for their subsistence, lately at the lower Holloway in the road between Highgate and London, and at present in Cock Lane not far from Shoreditch Church. Another thing let me mention, that is equally to the honor of the present age. Tho' Milton received not above ten pounds at two different payments for the
copy

copy of *Paradise Lost*, yet Mr. Hoyle author of the treatise on the Game of Whist, after having disposed of all the first impression, sold the copy to the bookseller, as I have been informed, for two hundred guineas.

As we have had occasion to mention more than once Milton's manuscripts preserved in the library of Trinity College in Cambridge, it may not be ungrateful to the reader, if we give a more particular account of them, before we conclude. There are, as we said, two draughts of a letter to a friend who had importuned him to take orders, together with a sonnet on his being arrived to the age of twenty three: and by there being two draughts of this letter with several alterations and additions, it appears to have been written with great care and deliberation; and both the draughts have been published by Mr. Birch in his *Historical and Critical Account of the life and writings of Milton*. There are also several of his poems, *Arcades*, *At a solemn music*, *On time*, *Upon the circumcision*, the *Mask*, *Lycidas*, with five or six of his sonnets, all in his own hand-writing: and there are some others of his sonnets written by different hands, being most of them composed after he had lost his sight. It is curious to see the first thoughts and subsequent corrections of so great a poet as Milton: but it is remarkable in these manuscript poems, that he doth not often make his stops, or begin his lines with great letters. There are likewise in his own hand-writing different plans of *Paradise Lost* in the form of a tragedy: and it is an agreeable amusement to trace the gradual progress and improvement of such a work from its first dawnings in the plan of a tragedy

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ts full lustre in an epic poem. And together with the plans of *Paradise Lost* there are the plans or subjects of several other intended tragedies, some taken from the Scripture, others from the British or Scottish histories: and of the latter the last mentioned is *Macbeth*, as if he had an inclination to try his strength with *Shakespear*; and to reduce the play more to the antiques, he proposes “beginning at the arrival of Malcolm at *Macduff*; the matter of *Duncan* may be expressed by the appearing of his ghost.” These manuscripts of *Milton* were found by the learned *Mr. Professor Mason* among some other old papers, which, he says, belonged to *Sir Henry Newton Puckering*, who was a considerable benefactor to the library: and for the better preservation of such truly valuable reliques, they were collected together, and handsomely bound in a thin folio by the care and at the charge of a person, who is now very eminent in his profession, and was always a lover of the *Muses*, and at that time a fellow of *Trinity College*, *Mr. Clarke*, one of his Majesty’s counsel.

I N
P A R A D I S U M A M I S S A M
S U M M I P O E T Æ
J O H A N N I S M I L T O N I .

QUI legis Amiffam Paradifum, grandia magni
Carmina Miltoni, quid nifi cuncta legis ?
Res cunctas, & cunctarum primordia rerum,
Et fata, & fines continet ifte liber.
Intima panduntur magni penetralia mundi,
Scribitur & toto quicquid in orbe latet :
Terræque, tractusque maris, cœlumque profundum,
Sulphureumque Erebi, flammivomumque specus :
Quæque colunt terras, pontumque, & Tartara cæca,
Quæque colunt summi lucida regna poli :
Et quodcunque ullis conclusum eft finibus ufquam,
Et fine fine Chaos, & fine fine Deus :
Et fine fine magis, fi quid magis eft fine fine,
In Chrifto erga homines conciliatus amor.
Hæc qui fperaret quis crederet effe futura ?
Et tamen hæc hodie terra Britanna legit.
O quantos in bella duces ! quæ protulit arma !
Quæ canit, & quanta prælia dira tuba !
Cœleftes acies ! atque in certamine cœlum !
Et quæ cœleftes pugna deceret agros !

Quantus

Quantus in æthereis tollit se Lucifer ætnis !
Atque ipso graditur vix Michaelæ minor !
Quantis, & quam fenestis concurritur iris,
Dum ferus hic stellas protegit, ille rapit !
Dum vulfos montes ceu tela reciproca torquent,
Et non mortali desuper igne pluunt :
Stat dubias cui se parti concedat Olympus,
Et metuit pugnae non superesse suae.
At simul in caelis Messiae insignia fulgent,
Et currus animæ, armaque digna Deo,
Horrendumque rotæ strident, & sæva rotarum
Erumpunt torvis fulgura luminibus,
Et flammæ vibrant, & vera tonitrua rauco
Admistis flammis insonuere polo :
Excidit attonitis mens omnis, & impetus omnis,
Et cassis dextris irrita tela cadunt ;
Ad pœnas fugiunt, & ceu foret Orcus asylum,
Infernis certant condere se tenebris.
Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graii,
Et quos fama recens vel celebravit anus.
Hæc quicumque leget tantum cecinisse putabit
Mæonidem ranas, Virgilium culices.

SAMUEL BARROW, M. D.

ON



ON PARADISE LOST.

WHEN I beheld the Poet blind, yet bold,
In slender book his vast design unfold,
Messiah crown'd, God's reconcil'd decree,
Rebelling Angels, the forbidden tree,
Heav'n, Hell, Earth, Chaos, all; the argument
Held me a while misdoubting his intent,
That he would ruin (for I saw him strong)
The sacred truths to fable and old song,
(So Sampson grop'd the temple's posts in spite)
The world o'erwhelming to revenge his fight.

Yet as I read, soon growing less severe,
I lik'd his project, the success did fear;
Through that wide field how he his way should find
O'er which lame faith leads understanding blind;
Lest he perplex'd the things he would explain,
And what was easy he should render vain.


Or if a work so infinite he spann'd,
Jealous I was that some less skilful hand
(Such as disquiet always what is well,
And by ill imitating would excel)
Might hence presume the whole creation's day
To change in scenes, and show it in a play.

Pardon me, mighty Poet, nor despise
My causeless, yet not impious, surmise.
But I am now convinc'd, and none will dare
Within thy labors to pretend a share.
Thou hast not mis'd one thought that could be fit,
And all that was improper dost omit:
So that no room is here for writers left,
But to detect their ignorance or theft.

That majesty which through thy work doth reign,
Draws the devout, deterring the profane.
And things divine thou treat'st of in such state
As them preserves, and thee, inviolate.
At once delight and horror on us seize,
Thou sing'st with so much gravity and ease;
And above human flight dost soar aloft
With plume so strong, so equal, and so soft.
The bird nam'd from that Paradise you sing
So never flags, but always keeps on wing.

Where couldst thou words of such a compass find?
Whence furnish such a vast expense of mind?
Just Heav'n thee like Tiresias to requite
Rewards with prophecy thy loss of sight.

Well might'st thou scorn thy readers to allure
With tinkling rime, of thy own sense secure;



While the Town-Bays writes all the while and spells,
And like a pack-horse tires without his bells :
Their fancies like our bushy-points appear,
The poets tag them, we for fashion wear.
I too transported by the mode offend,
And while I meant to Praise thee must Commend.
Thy verse created like thy theme sublime,
In number, weight, and measure, needs not rime.

ANDREW MARVEL.

T H E



T H E V E R S E.

HE measure is English heroic verse without rime, as that of Homer in Greek, and of Virgil in Latin; rime being no necessary adjunct or true ornament of poem or good verse; in longer works especially, but the invention of a barbarous age, to support the wretched matter and lame meter; grac'd since by the use of some famous modern poets, and away by custom, but much to their own confusion, hindrance, and constraint to express many things otherwise, and for the most part worse than they would have express'd them. Not without reason therefore some both Italian and Spanish poets in their poems have rejected rime both in longer and shorter works, as have also long since our best English poets, as a thing of itself, to all judicious ears, and of no true musical delight; which consists in apt numbers, fit quantity of syllables, and the variously drawn out from one verse into another, not in the jingling sound of like endings, avoided by the learned Ancients both in poetry and in good oratory. This neglect then of rime should not be taken for a defect, though it may seem perhaps to vulgar readers, that it rather is to be regarded as an example set, the first in English, of an liberty recovered to heroic poem, from the despicable and modern bondage of riming.

A

CRITIQUE upon the PARADISE LOST.

By Mr. ADDISON.

Cedite Romani Scriptores, cedite Graii. Propert.

THERE is nothing in nature more irksome than general discourses, especially when they turn chiefly upon words. For this reason I shall wave the discussion of that point which was started some years since, Whether Milton's Paradise Lost may be called an Heroic Poem? Those who will not give it that title, may call it (if they please) a Divine Poem. It will be sufficient to its perfection, if it has in it all the beauties of the highest kind of poetry; and as for those who allege it is not an heroic poem, they advance no more to the diminution of it, than if they should say Adam is not Æneas, nor Eve Helen.

I shall therefore examin it by the rules of epic poetry, and see whether it falls short of the Iliad or Æneid, in the beauties which are essential to that kind of writing. The first thing to be consider'd in an epic poem, is the fable, which is perfect or imperfect, according as the action which it relates is more or less so. This action should have three qualifications in it. First, It should be but One action. Secondly, It should be an Entire action; and Thirdly, It should be a Great action. To consider the action of the Iliad, Æneid, and

Paradise Lost, in these three several lights. Homer to preserve the unity of his action hastens into the midst of things, as Horace has observed: Had he gone up to Leda's egg, or begun much later, even at the rape of Helen, or the investing of Troy, it is manifest that the story of the poem would have been a series of several actions. He therefore opens his poem with the discord of his princes, and artfully interweaves, in the several succeeding parts of it, an account of every thing material which relates to them, and had passed before this fatal dissension. After the same manner, Æneas makes his first appearance in the Tyrrhene seas, and within sight of Italy, because the action proposed to be celebrated was that of his settling himself in Latium. But because it was necessary for the reader to know what had happened to him in the taking of Troy, and in the preceding parts of his voyage, Virgil makes his hero relate it by way of episode in the second and third books of the Æneid: the contents of both which books come before those of the first book in the thread of the story, tho' for preserving of this unity of action, they follow it in the disposition of the poem. Milton,

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mitation of these two great , opens his Paradise Lost with fernal council plotting the fall lan, which is the action he sed to celebrate; and as for great actions, the battle of ngels, and the creation of the l, (which preceded in point ne, and which, in my opinion, d have entirely destroyed the of his principal action, had elated them in the same order they happened) he cast them the fifth, sixth and seventh s, by way of episode to this : poem.

ristotle himself allows, that er has nothing to boast of as e unity of his fable, tho' at ame time that great critic and fopher endeavors to palliate mperfection in the Greek poet pputing it in some measure to very nature of an epic poem. e have been of opinion, that Eneid also labors in this parti- ; and has episodes which may ooked upon as excrescencies r than as parts of the action. he contrary, the poem, which ave now under our considera- hath no other episodes than as naturally arise from the ct, and yet is filled with such ultitude of astonishing inci- , that it gives us at the same a pleasure of the greatest va- , and of the greatest simpli- uniform in its nature, tho' sified in the execution.

ust observe also, that, as Vir- the poem which was designed ebrate the original of the Ro- empire, has described the birth : great rival, the Carthaginian non-wealth : Milton, with the

like art in his poem on the fall of Man, has related the fall of those Angels who are his professed enemies. Beside the many other beauties in such an episode, its running parallel with the great action of the poem, hinders it from breaking the unity so much as another episode would have done, that had not so great an affinity with the principal subject. In short, this is the same kind of beauty which the critics admire in the Spanish Fryar, or the Double Discovery, where the two different plots look like counterparts and copies of one another.

The second qualification required in the action of an epic poem is, that it should be an entire action: An action is entire when it is complete in all its parts; or as Aristotle describes it, when it consists of a beginning, a middle, and an end. Nothing should go before it, be intermix'd with it, or follow after it, that is not related to it. As on the contrary, no single step should be omitted in that just and regular progress which it must be supposed to take from its original to its consummation. Thus we see the anger of Achilles in its birth, its continuance, and effects; and Æneas's settlement in Italy, carried on through all the oppositions in his way to it both by sea and land. The action in Milton excels (I think) both the former in this particular; we see it contrived in Hell, executed upon Earth, and punished by Heaven. The parts of it are told in the most distinct manner, and grow out of one another in the most natural order.

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The third qualification of an epic poem is its greatness. The anger of Achilles was of such consequence, that it embroiled the kings of Greece, destroyed the heroes of Asia, and engaged all the Gods in factions. Æneas's settlement in Italy produced the Cæsars, and gave birth to the Roman empire. Milton's subject was still greater than either of the former; it does not determin the fate of single persons or nations, but of a whole species. The united Powers of Hell are joined together for the destruction of mankind, which they effected in part, and would have completed, had not Omnipotence itself interposed. The principal actors are Man in his greatest perfection, and Woman in her highest beauty. Their enemies are the fallen Angels: The Messiah their friend, and the Almighty their protector. In short, every thing that is great in the whole circle of being, whether within the verge of nature, or out of it, has a proper part assigned it in this admirable poem.

In poetry, as in architecture, not only the whole, but the principal members, and every part of them, should be great. I will not presume to say, that the book of games in the Æneid, or that in the Iliad, are not of this nature, nor to reprehend Virgil's simile of the top, and many other of the same kind in the Iliad, as liable to any censure in this particular; but I think we may say, without derogating from those wonderful performances, that there is an indisputable and unquestioned magnificence in every part of Paradise Lost, and indeed

a much greater than could have been formed upon any Pagan system.

But Aristotle, by the greatness of the action, does not only mean that it should be great in its nature, but also in its duration; or in other words, that it should have a due length in it, as well as what we properly call greatness. The just measure of this kind of magnitude, he explains by the following similitude. An animal, no bigger than a mite, cannot appear perfect to the eye, because the sight takes it in at once, and has only a confused idea of the whole, and not a distinct idea of all its parts; If on the contrary you should suppose an animal of ten thousand furlongs in length, the eye would be so filled with a single part of it, that it could not give the mind an idea of the whole. What these animals are to the eye, a very short or a very long action would be to the memory. The first would be, as it were, lost and swallowed up by it, and the other difficult to be contained in it. Homer and Virgil have shown their principal art in this particular; the action of the Iliad, and that of the Æneid, were in themselves exceeding short, but are so beautifully extended and diversified by the invention of episodes, and the machinery of Gods, with the like poetical ornaments, that they make up an agreeable story sufficient to employ the memory without overcharging it. Milton's action is enriched with such a variety of circumstances, that I have taken as much pleasure in reading the contents of his books, as in the best invented story I ever met with.

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possible, that the traditions, which the Iliad and Æneid were had more circumstances in than the history of the fall an, as it is related in Scrip-

Besides it was easier for Homer and Virgil to dash the truth in fiction, as they were in no way of offending the religion of their country by it. But as for Milton, he had not only a very great number of circumstances upon which to build his poem, but was also obliged to proceed with the greatest caution in every thing that he added of his own invention. And, indeed, notwithstanding all the restraints he was under, he has filled his story with so many surprising incidents, which bear so close an analogy with what is delivered in holy scripture that it is capable of pleasing the most delicate reader, without giving offense to the most scrupulous.

The modern critics have collected from several hints in the Iliad and Æneid the space of time, which is taken up by the action of each of those poems; but as the great part of Milton's story is transacted in regions that lie far beyond the reach of the sun and the moon of day, it is impossible to satisfy the reader with such a calculation, which indeed would be more curious than instructive; and of the critics, either ancient or modern, having laid down a rule to circumscribe the action of an epic poem within any determined number of years, days, or months.

It is of this more particularly to be observed.

HAVING examined the action of Paradise Lost, let us in the next place consider the actors. This is Aristotle's method of considering; first the fable, and secondly the manners, or as we generally call them in English, the fable and the characters.

Homer has excelled all the heroic poets that ever wrote, in the multitude and variety of his characters. Every God that is admitted into his poem, acts a part which would have been suitable to no other Deity. His princes are as much distinguished by their manners as by their dominions; and even those among them, whose characters seem wholly made up of courage, differ from one another as to the particular kinds of courage in which they excel. In short, there is scarce a speech or action in the Iliad, which the reader may not ascribe to the person that speaks or acts, without seeing his name at the head of it.

Homer does not only out-shine all other poets in the variety, but also in the novelty of his characters. He has introduced among his Grecian princes a person, who had lived in three ages of men, and conversed with Theseus, Hercules, Polyphemus, and the first race of heroes. His principal actor is the son of a Goddess, not to mention the offspring of other Deities, who have likewise a place in his poem, and the venerable Trojan prince who was the father of so many kings and heroes. There is in these several characters of Homer, a certain dignity as well as novelty, which adapts them in a more peculiar manner to the nature

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nature of an heroic poem. Tho' at the same time, to give them the greater variety, he has described a Vulcan, that is, a buffoon among his Gods, and a Therites among his mortals.

Virgil falls infinitely short of Homer in the characters of his poem, both as to their variety and novelty. Æneas is indeed a perfect character, but as for Achates, tho' he is stiled the heroe's friend, he does nothing in the whole poem which may deserve that title. Gyas, Mnestheus, Sergestus, and Cloanthus, are all of them men of the same stamp and character,

--- fortemque Gyan, fortemque
Cloanthum. Virg.

There are indeed several very natural incidents in the part of Ascanius; as that of Dido cannot be sufficiently admired. I do not see any thing new or particular in Turnus. Pallas and Evander are remote copies of Hector and Priam, as Lausus and Mezentius are almost parallels to Pallas and Evander. The characters of Nifus and Eurialus are beautiful, but common. We must not forget the parts of Sinon, Camilla, and some few others, which are fine improvements on the Greek poet. In short, there is neither that variety nor novelty in the persons of the Æneid, which we meet with in those of the Iliad.

If we look into the characters of Milton, we shall find that he has introduced all the variety his fable was capable of receiving. The whole species of mankind was in two persons at the time to which the subject of his poem is confined. We have, however, four distinct

characters in these two persons. We see Man and Woman in the highest innocence and perfection, and in the most abject state of guilt and infirmity. The two last characters are, indeed, very common and obvious, but the two first are not only more magnificent, but more new than any characters either in Virgil or Homer, or indeed in the whole circle of nature.

Milton was so sensible of this defect in the subject of his poem, and of the few characters it would afford him, that he has brought into it two actors of a shadowy and fictitious nature, in the persons of Sin and Death, by which means he has wrought into the body of his fable a very beautiful and well-invented allegory. But notwithstanding the fineness of this allegory may atone for it in some measure; I cannot think that persons of such a chimerical existence are proper actors in an epic poem; because there is not that measure of probability annexed to them, which is requisite in writings of this kind, as I shall show more at large hereafter.

Virgil has, indeed, admitted Fame as an actress in the Æneid, but the part she acts is very short, and none of the most admired circumstances in that divine work. We find in mock-heroic poems, particularly in the Dispensary and the Lutrin, several allegorical persons of this nature, which are very beautiful in those compositions, and may, perhaps, be used as an argument, that the authors of them were of opinion, such characters might have a place in an epic work. For my own part, I should be glad
the

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reader would think so, for the of the poem I am now examining, and must further add, that such empty unsubstantial beings have never been made use of on this occasion, never were any more imaginably imagined, and employed in proper actions, than those of which I am now speaking.

Another principal actor in this drama is the great enemy of mankind. The part of Ulysses in Homer's *Odysey* is very much admired by Aristotle, as perplexing and agreeable plots with very agreeable plots and intricacies, not only by the adventures in his voyage, but the subtlety of his behaviour, by the various concealments and discoveries of his person in several parts of that poem. But the being I have now mentioned, is a much longer voyage than Ulysses, puts in practice many more stratagems, and hides himself under a greater variety of disguises and appearances, all of which are severally detested, to the delight and surprize of the reader.

One may likewise observe with much art the poet has varied the characters of the persons who speak in his infernal assembly. The contrary, how has he represented the whole Godhead exerting itself towards Man in its full volence under the three-fold notion of a Creator, a Redeemer, and a Comforter!

Or must we omit the person of Michael, who, amidst his tenderness and friendship for Man, shows a dignity and condescension in his speech and behaviour, as are suitable to a superior nature. The

Angels are indeed as much diversified in Milton, and distinguished by their proper parts, as the Gods are in Homer or Virgil. The reader will find nothing ascribed to Uriel, Gabriel, Michael, or Raphael, which is not in a particular manner suitable to their respective characters.

There is another circumstance in the principal actors of the *Iliad* and *Æneid*, which gives a peculiar beauty to those two poems, and was therefore contrived with very great judgment. I mean the authors having chosen for their heroes persons who were so nearly related to the people for whom they wrote. Achilles was a Greek, and Æneas the remote founder of Rome. By this means their countrymen (whom they principally proposed to themselves for their readers) were particularly attentive to all the parts of their story, and sympathized with their heroes in all their adventures. A Roman could not but rejoice in the escapes, successes, and victories of Æneas, and be grieved at any defeats, misfortunes, or disappointments that befel him; as a Greek must have had the same regard for Achilles. And it is plain, that each of those poems have lost this great advantage, among those readers to whom their heroes are as strangers, or indifferent persons.

Milton's poem is admirable in this respect, since it is impossible for any of its readers, whatever nation, country or people he may belong to, not to be related to the persons who are the principal actors in it; but what is still infinitely more to its advantage, the principal actors

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actors in this poem are not only our progenitors, but our representatives. We have an actual interest in every thing they do, and no less than our utmost happiness is concerned, and lies at stake in all their behaviour.

I shall subjoin as a corollary to the foregoing remark, an admirable observation out of Aristotle, which hath been very much misrepresented in the quotations of some modern critics. 'If a man of perfect and consummate virtue falls into a misfortune, it raises our pity, but not our terror, because we do not fear that it may be our own case, who do not resemble the suffering person. But as that great philosopher adds, 'If we see a man of virtue, mixt with infirmities, fall into any misfortune, it does not only raise our pity but our terror; because we are afraid that the like misfortunes may happen to ourselves, who resemble the character of the suffering person.'

I shall only remark in this place, that the foregoing observation of Aristotle, tho' it may be true in other occasions, does not hold in this; because in the present case, though the persons who fall into misfortune are of the most perfect and consummate virtue, it is not to be considered as what may possibly be, but what actually is our own case; since we are embark'd with them on the same bottom, and must be partakers of their happiness or misery.

In this, and some other very few instances, Aristotle's rules for epic poetry (which he had drawn from his reflections upon Homer) cannot

be supposed to square exactly with the heroic poems which have been made since his time; since it is evident to every impartial judge his rules would still have been more perfect, could he have perused the *Æneid* which was made some hundred years after his death.

In my next, I shall go through other parts of Milton's poem; and hope that what I shall there advance, as well as what I have already written, will not only serve as a comment upon Milton, but upon Aristotle.

WE have already taken a general survey of the fable and characters in Milton's *Paradise Lost*: The parts which remain to be consider'd, according to Aristotle's method, are the sentiments and the language. Before I enter upon the first of these, I must advertise my reader, that it is my design as soon as I have finished my general reflections on these four several heads, to give particular instances out of the poem now before us of beauties and imperfections which may be observed under each of them, as also of such other particulars as may not properly fall under any of them. This I thought fit to premise, that the reader may not judge too hastily of this piece of criticism, or look upon it as imperfect, before he has seen the whole extent of it.

The sentiments in an epic poem are the thoughts and behaviour which the author ascribes to the persons whom he introduces, and are just when they are conformable to the characters of the several persons. The sentiments have like-
wise

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relation to things as well as as, and are then perfect when are such as are adapted to the it. If in either of these cases poet endeavors to argue or exto to magnify or diminish, to love or hatred, pity or terr any other passion, we ought asider whether the sentiments takes use of are proper for ends. Homer is censured by critics for his defect as to this ular in several parts of the and Odysey, tho' at the same poet who have treated this poet with candor, have attri- l this defect to the times in he lived. It was the fault e age, and not of Homer, if wants that delicacy in some s sentiments, which now ap- in the works of men of a inferior genius. Besides, if : are blemishes in any partic- houghts, there is an infinite ty in the greatest part of them. ort, if there are many poets would not have fallen into the nefs of some of his senti- s, there are none who could risen up to the greatness of s. Virgil has excelled all n in the propriety of his sen- ts. Milton shines likewise much in this particular: Nor we omit one consideration h adds to his honor and re- tion. Homer and Virgil in- ced persons whose characters ommonly known among men, such as are to be met with e- in history, or in ordinary con- sion. Milton's characters, most em, lie out of nature, and : to be formed purely by his invention. It shows a greater

genius in Shakespear to have drawn his Calyban, than his Hotspur or Julius Cæsar: The one was to be supplied out of his own imagina- tion, whereas the other might have been formed upon tradition, history and observation. It was much easier therefore for Homer to find proper sentiments for an assembly of Grecian generals, than for Milton to diversify his infernal council with proper characters, and inspire them with a variety of sentiments. The loves of Dido and Æneas are only copies of what has passed between other persons. Adam and Eve before the fall, are a different species from that of mankind, who are descended from them; and none but a poet of the most un- bounded invention, and the most exquisite judgment, cou'd have filled their conversation and beha- viour with so many apt circum- stances during their state of inno- cence.

Nor is it sufficient for an epic poem to be filled with such thoughts as are natural, unless it abound also with such as are sublime. Virgil in this particular falls short of Ho- mer. He has not indeed so many thoughts that are low and vulgar; but at the same time has not so many thoughts that are sublime and noble. The truth of it is, Virgil seldom rises into very aston- ishing sentiments, where he is not fired by the Iliad. He every where charms and pleases us by the force of his own genius; but seldom ele- vates and transports us where he does not fetch his hints from Homer.

Milton's chief talent, and indeed his distinguishing excellence lies in the sublimity of his thoughts. There are

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are others of the Moderns who rival him in every other part of poetry; but in the greatness of his sentiments he triumphs over all the poets both modern and ancient, Homer only excepted. It is impossible for the imagination of man to distend itself with greater ideas, than those which he has laid together in his first, second and sixth books. The seventh, which describes the creation of the world, is likewise wonderfully sublime, tho' not so apt to stir up emotion in the mind of the reader, nor consequently so perfect in the epic way of writing, because it is filled with less action. Let the judicious reader compare what Longinus has observed on several passages in Homer, and he will find parallels for most of them in the Paradise Lost.

From what has been said we may infer, that as there are two kinds of sentiments, the natural and the sublime, which are always to be pursued in an heroic poem, there are also two kinds of thoughts which are carefully to be avoided. The first are such as are affected and unnatural; the second such as are mean and vulgar. As for the first kind of thoughts we meet with little or nothing that is like them in Virgil: He has none of those trifling points and puerilities that are so often to be met with in Ovid, none of the epigrammatic turns of Lucan, none of those swelling sentiments which are so frequently in Statius and Claudian, none of those mixed embellishments of Tasso. Every thing is just and natural. His sentiments show that he had a perfect insight

into human nature, and that he knew every thing which was the most proper to affect it.

Mr. Dryden has in some places, which I may hereafter take notice of, misrepresented Virgil's way of thinking as to this particular, in the translation he has given us of the *Æneid*. I do not remember that Homer any where falls into the faults abovementioned, which were indeed the false refinements of later ages. Milton, it must be confessed, has sometimes erred in this respect, as I shall shew more at large in another paper; tho' considering all the poets of the age in which he writ, were infected with this wrong way of thinking, he is rather to be admired that he did not give more into it, than that he did sometimes comply with the vicious taste which still prevails so much among modern writers.

But since several thoughts may be natural which are low and groveling, an epic poet should not only avoid such sentiments as are unnatural or affected, but also such as are mean and vulgar. Homer has opened a great field of rallery to men of more delicacy than greatness of genius, by the homeliness of some of his sentiments. But, as I have before said, these are rather to be imputed to the simplicity of the age in which he lived, to which I may also add, of that which he described, than to any imperfection in that divine poet. Zoilus, among the Ancients, and Monsieur Perrault, among the Moderns, pushed their ridicule very far upon him, on account of some such sentiments. There is no blemish to be observed in Virgil,
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head, and but a very
 on.
 ve but one instance of
 riety of thought in Ho-
 it the same time com-
 an instance of the same
 h in Virgil and Milton.
 which raise laughter,
 eldom be admitted with
 y into an heroic poem,
 inefs is to excite passions
 nobler nature. Homer,
 n his characters of Vul-
 Therfites, in his story of
 Venus, in his behaviour
 d in other passages, has
 ved to have lapsed into
 que character, and to
 rted from that serious
 seems essential to the
 ce of an epic poem. I
 but one laugh in the
 eid, which rises in the
 upon Monctes, where
 sented as thrown over-
 l drying himself upon a
 t this piece of mirth is fo-
 l, that the severest critic
 othing to say against it,
 the book of games and
 where the reader's mind
 pposed to be sufficiently
 such an entertainment.
 nece of pleasantry in Pa-
 , is where the evil spirits
 ed as rallying the Angels
 success of their new in-
 illery. This passage I
 to be the most excep-
 the whole poem, as be-
 elfe but a string of puns,
 too very indifferent.

an beheld their plight,
 is mates thus in derision
 d.

O Friends, why come not on these
 victors proud!
 Ere while they fierce were coming,
 and when we,
 To entertain them fair with *open*
front,
 And breast, (what could we more)
 propounded terms
 Of *composition*; strait they chang'd
 their minds,
 Flew off, and into strange vaga-
 ries fell,
 As they would dance, yet for a
 dance they seem'd
 Somewhat extravagant and wild,
 perhaps
 For joy of offer'd peace; but I sup-
 pose
 If our proposals once again were
 heard,
 We should compel them to a quick
 result.

To whom thus Belial in like
 gamefome mood.
 Leader, the terms we sent, were
 terms of *weight,*
 Of *hard contents,* and full of force
 urg'd home,
 Such as we might perceive amus'd
 them all,
 And *stumbled* many; who receives
 them right,
 Had need, from head to foot, well
understand;
 Not *understood,* this gift they have
 besides,
 They show us when our foes *walk*
not upright.
 Thus they among themselves in
 pleasant vein
 Stood scoffing —

HAVING already treated of
 the fable, the characters and senti-
 ments in the Paradise Lost, we are
 in the last place to consider the
 language;

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language; and as the learned world is very much divided upon Milton as to this point, I hope they will excuse me if I appear particular in any of my opinions, and incline to those who judge the most advantageously of the author.

It is requisite that the language of an heroic poem should be both perspicuous and sublime. In proportion as either of these two qualities are wanting, the language is imperfect. Perspicuity is the first and most necessary qualification; inasmuch that a good-natur'd reader sometimes overlooks a little slip even in the grammar or syntax, where it is impossible for him to mistake the poet's sense. Of this kind is that passage in Milton, wherein he speaks of Satan.

—— God and his Son except,
Created thing nought valu'd he

tend to each minute particular, and give the last finishing to every circumstance in so long a work. The ancient critics therefore, who were act'd by a spirit of candor, rather than that of cavilling, invented certain figures of speech, on purpose to palliate little errors of this nature in the writings of those authors who had so many greater beauties to atone for them.

If clearness and perspicuity were only to be consulted, the poet would have nothing else to do but to clothe his thoughts in the most plain and natural expressions. But since it often happens that the most obvious phrases, and those which are used in ordinary conversation, become too familiar to the ear, and contract a kind of meanness by passing through the mouths of the vulgar, a poet should take particular care to guard himself against

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of all ages to succeed, but feeling evil on him brought by me, will curse head, Ill fare our ancestor impure,
his we may thank Adam —

great masters in composition very well that many an epithet becomes improper for an orator, when it has debased by common use. For reason the works of ancient poets, which are written in dead languages that are now spoken. Were there any mean phrases in Virgil and Homer, would not shock the ear of our delicate modern reader, so as they would have done that old Greek or Roman, because we never hear them pronounced in our streets, or in ordinary conversation.

It is not therefore sufficient, that the language of an epic poem be picturesque, unless it be also sublime. At the end it ought to deviate from the common forms and ordinary phrases of speech. The object of a poet very much differs itself in shunning the common roads of expression, without going into such ways of speech as seem stiff and unnatural; he does not swell into a false sublime, endeavoring to avoid the other way. Among the Greeks, Æschylus, and sometimes Sophocles guilty of this fault; among the Latins, Claudian and Statius; among our own Countrymen, Shakespeare and Lee. In

these authors the affectation of greatness often hurts the perspicuity of the style, as in many others the endeavor after perspicuity prejudices its greatness.

Aristotle has observed, that the idiomatic style may be avoided, and the sublime formed, by the following methods. First, by the use of metaphors: such are those in Milton.

Imparadis'd in one another's arms.
— And in his hand a reed
Stood waving *tips* with fire. —
The grassy clods now *cabo'd*. —
Spangled with eyes —

In these and innumerable other instances, the metaphors are very bold but just; I must however observe, that the metaphors are not thick fown in Milton, which always favors too much of wit; that they never clash with one another, which, as Aristotle observes, turns a sentence into a kind of an enigma or riddle; and that he seldom has recourse to them where the proper and natural words will do as well.

Another way of raising the language, and giving it a poetical turn, is to make use of the idioms of other tongues. Virgil is full of the Greek forms of speech, which the critics call Hellenisms, as Horace in his odes abounds with them much more than Virgil. I need not mention the several dialects which Homer has made use of for this end. Milton in conformity with the practice of the ancient poets, and with Aristotle's rule, has infused a great many Latinisms as well as Græcisms, and sometimes Hebraisms, into the language of his poem; as towards the beginning of it,

Nor

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Nor did they *not* perceive the evil
plight

In which they were, *or* the fierce
pains *not* feel.

Yet *to* their general's voice they
soon obey'd.

—Who shall tempt with wand'ring
feet

The dark unbottom'd infinite a-
byss,

And through the *palpable obscure*
find out

His uncouth way, or spread his
airy flight

Upborne with indefatigable wings
Over the *vast abrupt*!

—— So both ascend
In the visions of God — B. 11.

Under this head may be reckoned the placing the adjective after the substantive, the transposition of words, the turning the adjective into a substantive, with several other foreign modes of speech, which this poet has naturalized to give his verse the greater sound, and throw it out of prose.

The third method mentioned by Aristotle, is what agrees with the genius of the Greek language more than with that of any other tongue, and is therefore more used by Homer than by any other poet. I mean the lengthning of a phrase by the addition of words, which may either be inserted or omitted, as also by the extending or contracting of particular words by the insertion or omission of certain syllables. Milton has put in practice this method of raising his language, as far as the nature of our tongue will permit, as in the passage above-mentioned, *eremite*, for what is hermite, in common discourse. If

you observe the measure of his verse, he has with great judgment suppressed a syllable in several words, and shortened those of two syllables into one, by which method, besides the above-mentioned advantage, he has given a greater variety to his numbers. But this practice is more particularly remarkable in the names of persons and of countries, as *Beelzebub*, *Hefsebon*, and in many other particulars, wherein he has either changed the name, or made use of that which is not the most commonly known, that he might the better depart from the language of the vulgar.

The same reason recommended to him several old words, which also makes his poem appear the more venerable, and gives it a greater air of antiquity.

I must likewise take notice, that there are in Milton several words of his own coining, as *Cerberian*, *miscreated*, *Hell-doom'd*, *embryon atoms*, and many others. If the reader is offended at this liberty in our English poet, I would recommend him to a discourse in Plutarch, which shows us how frequently Homer has made use of the same liberty.

Milton by the above-mentioned helps, and by the choice of the noblest words and phrases which our tongue would afford him, has carried our language to a greater height than any of the English poets have ever done before or after him, and made the sublimity of his style equal to that of his sentiments.

I have been the more particular in these observations on Milton's style,

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, because it is that part of him which he appears the most singular

The remarks I have here made upon the practice of other poets, with my observations out of context, will perhaps alleviate the prejudice which some have taken of his poem upon this account; after all, I must confess, that his style, tho' admirable in general, is in some places too much obscured and obscured by the frequent use of those methods, which his poet has prescribed for the raising of it.

his redundancy of those several ways of speech which Aristotle calls foreign language, and which Milton has so very much obscured, and in some places darkened the language of his poem, was more proper for his use, because his poem is written in blank verse. Rime without any other assistance, throws the language off into prose, and very often makes indifferent phrase pass unremarked; but where the verse is built upon rimes, there pomp and grandeur, and energy of expression are indispensably necessary to support the style, and keep it from falling into the flatness of prose.

Those who have not a taste for the elevation of style, and are apt to ridicule a poet when he goes out of the common forms of expression, would do well to see how Aristotle has treated an ancient author, called Euclid, for his insipidness upon this occasion. Mr. Dryden used to call this sort of men his *critics*.

Should, under this head of the subject, consider Milton's manner in which he has made use of

• L. I.

several elisions, that are not customary among other English poets, as may be particularly observed in his cutting off the letter *Y*, when it precedes a vowel. This, and some other innovations in the measure of his verse, has varied his numbers, in such a manner, as makes them incapable of fatiating the ear and cloying the reader, which the same uniform measure would certainly have done, and which the perpetual returns of rime never fail to do in long narrative poems. I shall close these reflections upon the language of Paradise Lost, with observing that Milton has copied after Homer, rather than Virgil, in the length of his periods, the copiousness of his phrases, and the running of his verses into one another.

I HAVE now consider'd Milton's Paradise Lost under those four great heads of the fable, the characters, the sentiments, and the language; and have shown that he excels, in general, under each of these heads. I hope that I have made several discoveries which may appear new, even to those who are versed in critical learning. Were I indeed to choose my readers, by whose judgment I would stand or fall, they should not be such as are acquainted only with the French and Italian critics, but also with the ancient and modern who have written in either of the learned languages. Above all, I would have them well versed in the Greek and Latin poets, without which a man very often fancies that he understands a critic, when in reality he does not comprehend his meaning.

I

15

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It is in criticism, as in all other sciences and speculations; one who brings with him any implicit notions and observations which he has made in his reading of the poets, will find his own reflections methodized and explained, and perhaps several little hints that had passed in his mind, perfected and improved in the works of a good critic; whereas one who has not these previous lights, is very often an utter stranger to what he reads, and apt to put a wrong interpretation upon it.

Nor is it sufficient, that a man who sets up for a judge in criticism, should have perused the authors above-mentioned, unless he has also a clear and logical head. Without this talent he is perpetually puzzled and perplexed amidst his own blunders, mistakes the sense of those he would confute, or if he chances to think right, does not know how to convey his thoughts to another with clearness and perspicuity. Aristotle, who was the best critic, was also one of the best logicians that ever appeared in the world.

Mr. Lock's Essay on Human Understanding would be thought a very odd book for a man to make himself master of, who would get a reputation by critical writings; tho' at the same time it is very certain, that an author, who has not learned the art of distinguishing between words and things, and of ranging his thoughts, and setting them in proper lights, whatever notions he may have, will lose himself in confusion and obscurity. I might further observe, that there is not a

Greek or Latin critic who has not shown, even in the stile of his criticisms, that he was a master of all the elegance and delicacy of his native tongue.

The truth of it is, there is nothing more absurd than for a man to set up for a critic, without a good insight into all the parts of learning; whereas many of those who have endeavored to signalize themselves by works of this nature among our English writers, are not only defective in the abovementioned particulars, but plainly discover by the phrases which they make use of, and by their confused way of thinking, that they are not acquainted with the most common and ordinary systems of arts and sciences. A few general rules extracted out of the French authors, with a certain cant of words, has sometimes set up an illiterate heavy writer for a most judicious and formidable critic.

One great mark, by which you may discover a critic who has neither taste nor learning, is this, that he seldom ventures to praise any passage in an author which has not been before received and applauded by the public, and that his criticism turns wholly upon little faults and errors. This part of a critic is so very easy to succeed in, that we find every ordinary reader, upon the publishing of a new poem, has wit and ill-nam'd enough to turn several passages of it into ridicule, and very often in the right place. This Mr. Dryden has very agreeably remarked in those two celebrated lines,

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ers, like straws, upon the surface flow; who would search for pearls must dive below.

true critic ought to dwell upon excellencies than imperfections, to discover the concealed beauties of a writer, and commend to the world such things as are worth their observation. The

exquisite words and finest expressions of an author are those which very often appear the most beautiful and exceptionable to a who wants a relish for polite writing; and they are these, which a undistinguishing critic generalizes with the greatest violence.

Tully observes, that it is easy to brand or fix a mark upon what he calls *verbum ardens*, it may be rendered into English a glowing bold expression, and turn it into ridicule by a cold ill-tempered criticism. A little wit is fully capable of exposing a beauty and of aggravating a fault; though such a treatment of an author naturally produces indignation in the mind of an understanding reader, it has however its effect among the generality of those whose hands it falls into, the sense of mankind being very apt to sink that every thing which is attended at with any mixture of wit, is ridiculous in itself.

Such a mirth as this, is always unreasonable in a critic, as it prejudges the reader than commend him, and is capable of making beauty, as well as a blemish, subject of derision. A man,

cannot write with wit on a serious subject, is dull and stupid,

but one who shows it in an improper place, is as impertinent and absurd. Besides, a man who has the gift of ridicule, is apt to find fault with any thing that gives him an opportunity of exerting his beloved talent, and very often censures a passage, not because there is any fault in it, but because he can be merry upon it. Such kinds of pleasantries are very unfair and disingenuous in works of criticism, in which the greatest masters, both ancient and modern, have always appeared with a serious and instructive air.

As I intend in my next paper to show the defects in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, I thought fit to premise these few particulars, to the end that the reader may know I enter upon it, as on a very ungrateful work, and that I shall just point at the imperfections, without endeavoring to inflame them with ridicule. I must also observe with Longinus, that the productions of a great genius, with many lapses and inadvertencies, are infinitely preferable to the works of an inferior kind of author, which are scrupulously exact and conformable to all the rules of correct writing.

I shall conclude my paper with a story out of Boccacini, which sufficiently shows us the opinion that judicious author entertained of the sort of critics I have been here mentioning. A famous critic, says he, having gathered together all the faults of an eminent poet, made a present of them to Apollo, who received them very graciously, and resolved to make the author a suitable return for the trouble he had been at in collecting them. In

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order to this, he set before him a sack of wheat as it had been just threshed out of the sheaf. He then bid him pick out the chaff from among the corn, and lay it aside by itself. The critic applied himself to the task with great industry and pleasure, and after having made the due separation, was presented by Apollo with the chaff for his pains.

AFTER what I have said, I shall enter on the subject without farther preface, and remark the several defects which appear in the fable, the characters, the sentiments, and the language of Milton's Paradise Lost; not doubting but the reader will pardon me, if I allege at the same time whatever may be said for the extenuation of such defects. The first imperfection which I shall observe in the fable is, that the event of it is unhappy.

The fable of every poem is according to Aristotle's division either simple or implex. It is called simple when there is no change of fortune in it, implex when the fortune of the chief actor changes from bad to good, or from good to bad. The implex fable is thought the most perfect; I suppose, because it is more proper to stir up the passions of the reader, and to surprize him with a greater variety of accidents.

The implex fable is therefore of two kinds: In the first the chief actor makes his way through a long series of dangers and difficulties, till he arrives at honor and prosperity, as we see in the story of Ulysses. In the second, the chief actor in the poem falls from some eminent pitch of honor and prosperity into misery and disgrace. Thus we see

Adam and Eve sinking from a state of innocence and happiness into the most abject condition of sin and sorrow.

The most taking tragedies among the Ancients were built on this last sort of implex fable, particularly the tragedy of Oedipus, which proceeds upon a story, if we may believe Aristotle, the most proper for tragedy that could be invented by the wit of man. I have taken some pains in a former paper to show, that this kind of implex fable, wherein the event is unhappy, is more apt to affect an audience than that of the first kind; notwithstanding many excellent pieces among the Ancients, as well as most of those which have been written of late years in our own country, are raised upon contrary plans. I must however own, that I think this kind of fable, which is the most perfect in tragedy, is not so proper for an heroic poem.

Milton seems to have been sensible of this imperfection in his fable, and has therefore endeavored to cure it by several expedients; particularly by the mortification which the great adversary of mankind meets with upon his return to the assembly of infernal Spirits, as it is described in a beautiful passage of the tenth book; and likewise by the vision, wherein Adam at the close of the poem sees his offspring triumphing over his great enemy, and himself restored to a happier Paradise than that from which he fell.

There is another objection against Milton's fable, which is indeed almost the same with the former, tho' placed in a different light, namely,

That

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That the hero in the *Paradise Lost* is unsuccessful, and by no means a match for his enemies. This gave occasion to Mr. Dryden's reflection, that the Devil was in reality Milton's hero. I think I have obviated this objection in my first paper. The *Paradise Lost* is an epic, or a narrative poem, and he that looks for an hero in it, searches for that which Milton never intended; but if he will needs fix the name of an hero upon any person in it, 'tis certainly the Messiah is the hero, both in the principal action, and in the chief episodes. Paganism could not furnish out a real action for a fable greater than that of the *Iliad* or *Æneid*, and therefore an heathen could not form a higher notion of a poem than one of that kind which they call an heroic. Whether Milton's is not of a sublimar nature I will not presume to determine: It is sufficient that I know there is in the *Paradise Lost* all the greatness of plan, regularity of design, and masterly beauties which we discover in Homer and Virgil.

I must in the next place observe, that Milton has interwoven in the texture of his fable some particulars which do not seem to have probability enough for an epic poem, particularly in the actions which he ascribes to Sin and Death, and the picture which he draws of the Limbo of Vanity, with other passages in the second book. Such allegories rather favor of the spirit of Spenser and Ariosto, than of Homer and Virgil.

In the structure of this poem he is likewise admitted of too many digressions. It is finely observed by

Aristotle, that the author of an heroic poem should seldom speak himself, but throw as much of his work as he can into the mouths of those who are his principal actors. Aristotle has given no reason for this precept; but I presume it is because the mind of the reader is more awed and elevated when he hears Æneas or Achilles speak, than when Virgil or Homer talk in their own persons. Besides that assuming the character of an eminent man is apt to fire the imagination, and raise the ideas of the author. Tully tells us, mentioning his dialogue of old age, in which Cato is the chief speaker, that upon a review of it he was agreeably imposed upon, and fancied that it was Cato, and not he himself, who uttered his thoughts on that subject.

If the reader would be at the pains to see how the story of the *Iliad* and *Æneid* is delivered by those persons who act in it, he will be surpris'd to find how little in either of these poems proceeds from the authors. Milton has, in the general disposition of his fable, very finely observed this great rule; inasmuch, that there is scarce a third part of it which comes from the poet; the rest is spoken either by Adam and Eve, or by some good or evil Spirit who is engaged either in their destruction or defense.

From what has been here observed, it appears, that digressions are by no means to be allowed of in an epic poem. If the poet, even in the ordinary course of his narration, should speak as little as possible, he should certainly never let his narration sleep for the sake of any reflections of his own. I have

often

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often observed, with a secret admiration, that the longest reflection in the *Æneid* is in that passage of the tenth book, where Turnus is represented as dressing himself in the spoils of Pallas, whom he had slain. Virgil here lets his fable stand still for the sake of the following remark. "How is the mind of
" man ignorant of futurity, and
" unable to bear prosperous fortune with moderation? The time
" will come when Turnus shall
" wish that he had left the body of
" Pallas untouched, and curse the
" day on which he dressed himself
" in these spoils." As the great event of the *Æneid*, and the death of Turnus, whom *Æneas* slew, because he saw him adorned with the spoils of Pallas, turns upon this incident, Virgil went out of his way to make this reflection upon it, without which so small a circum-

stance would have been almost lost in these very digressions that I would not wish them out of his poem.

I have, in a former paper, spoken of the characters of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, and declared my opinion, as to the allegorical persons who are introduced in it.

If we look into the sentiments, I think they are sometimes defective under the following heads; First, as there are several of them too much pointed, and some that degenerate even into punns. Of this last kind, I am afraid is that in the first book, where speaking of the pigmies, he calls them

— the small *infantry*
Warr'd on by cranes —

Another blemish that appears in some of his thoughts, is his frequent allusion to heathen fables, which are not certainly of a piece with the divine subject of which

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nation, and his many glances
history, astronomy, geogra-
and the like, as well as by
erms and phrases he sometimes
se use of, that he was ac-
ted with the whole circle of
and sciences.

in the last place, we consider
anguage of this great poet, we
allow what I have hinted in a
er paper, that it is often too
h labored, and sometimes ob-
ed by old words, transpositions,
foreign idioms. Seneca's ob-
on to the stile of a great au-
Riget ejus oratio, nihil in ea
dum, nihil lene, is what many
s make to Milton: As I can-
wholly refute it, so I have al-
y apologized for it in another
r; to which I may further add,
Milton's sentiments and ideas
so wonderfully sublime, that
ould have been impossible for
to have represented them in
r full strength and beauty, with-
having recourse to these foreign
ances. Our language sunk un-
him, and was unequal to that
tness of soul, which furnished
with such glorious conceptions.
second fault in his language
hat he often affects a kind of
le in his words, as in the fol-
ing passages, and many others:
at brought into this world a
world of woe.

- Begirt th' almighty throne
feeching or besieging —
his tempted our attempt —
: one slight bound high over-leapt
all bound.

know there are figures for this
l of speech, that some of the
stest Ancients have been guilty

of it, and that Aristotle himself has
given it a place in his Rhetoric a-
mong the beauties of that art. But
as it is in itself poor and trifling, it
is I think at present universally
exploded by all the masters of po-
lite writing.

The last fault which I shall take
notice of in Milton's stile, is the
frequent use of what the learned
call technical words, or terms of
art. It is one of the great beauties
of poetry, to make hard things in-
telligible, and to deliver what is
abstruse of itself in such easy lan-
guage as may be understood by or-
dinary readers: Besides that the
knowledge of a poet should rather
seem born with him, or inspired,
than drawn from books and systems.
I have often wondered, how Mr.
Dryden could translate a passage
out of Virgil, after the following
manner,

Tack to the larboard, and stand
off to sea,

Veer star-board sea and land. —

Milton makes use of *larboard* in the
same manner. When he is upon
building, he mentions *Doric pillars,*
pilasters, cornices, freeze, architrave.
When he talks of heavenly bodies,
you meet with *ecliptic,* and *eccen-
tric,* the *trepidation,* *stars dropping*
from the zenith, *rays culminating*
from the equator. To which might
be added many instances of the
like kind in several other arts and
sciences.

I shall in my next papers give
an account of the many particular
beauties in Milton, which would
have been too long to insert under
those general heads I have al-
ready treated of, and with which

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I intend to conclude this piece of criticism.

I HAVE seen in the works of a modern philosopher, a map of the spots in the sun. My last paper of the faults and blemishes in Milton's Paradise Lost, may be considered as a piece of the same nature. To pursue the allusion: As it is observed, that among the bright

parts of the luminous body above-mentioned, there are some which glow more intensely, and dart a stronger light than others; so, notwithstanding I have already shown Milton's poem to be very beautiful in general, I shall now proceed to take notice of such beauties as appear to me more exquisite than the rest.



THE

F I R S T B O O K

OF

PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT:

This first book proposes, first in brief, the whole subject, Man's disobedience, and the loss thereupon of Paradise wherein he was plac'd: Then touches the prime cause of his fall, the Serpent, or rather Satan in the serpent; who revolting from God, and drawing to his side many legions of Angels, was by the command of God driven out of Heaven with all his crew into the great deep. Which action pass'd over, the poem hastes into the midst of things, presenting Satan with his Angels now fallen into Hell, describ'd here, not in the center (for Heaven and Earth may be suppos'd as yet not made, certainly not yet accur'd) but in a place of utter darkness, fitliest call'd Chaos: Here Satan with his Angels lying on the burning lake, thunder-struck and astonish'd, after a certain space recovers, as from confusion, calls up him who next in order and dignity lay by him; they confer of their miserable fall. Satan awakens all his legions, who lay till then in the same manner confounded; They rise, their numbers, array of battel, their chief leaders nam'd, according to the idols known afterwards in Canaan and the countries adjoining. To these Satan directs his speech, comforts them with hope yet of regaining Heaven, but tells them lastly of a new world and new kind of creature to be created, according to an ancient prophecy or report in Heaven; for that Angels were long before this visible creation, was the opinion of many ancient Fathers. To find out the truth of this prophecy, and what to determine thereon he refers to a full council. What his associates thence attempt. Pandemonium the palace of Satan rises, suddenly built out of the deep: The infernal peers there sit in council.



B. Flayman inv. et del.

J. Schüller sc.

Books.

RADISE LOST.

B O O K I.

Man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought

is first disobedience, &c.] proposed the subject of the following verses. are perhaps as plain, adorned as any of the , in which particular was conformed himself ple of Homer and the Horace. His invocation, which turns in a e upon the creation of s very properly made who inspired Moses in from whence our au- is subject, and to the who is therein repre- rating after a particu- in the first production This whole exordium ppily into noble lan- sentiment, as I think n to the fable is exqui- and natural. Addison. e plainness and simpli- lines, there is a far- which of themselves y reader without any thought or pomp of and this variety of the

numbers consists chiefly in the pause being so artfully varied, that it falls upon a different syllable in almost every line, as it may easily be perceived by distinguishing the verses thus;

Of Man's first disobedience, | and
the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, | whose
mortal taste
Brought death into the world, | and
all our woe,
With loss of Eden, | till one greater
Man
Restore us, | and regain the bliss-
ful seat,
Sing heav'nly Muse, |

Mr. Pope, in a letter to Mr. Walsh containing some critical observations on English versification, remarks that in any smooth English verse of ten syllables, there is naturally a pause at the fourth, fifth, or sixth syllable, and upon the judicious change and management of these depends the variety of versification. But Milton varies the pause according to the sense, and varies it through all the ten syl-
lables,

lables, by which means he is a master of greater harmony than any other English poet: and he is continually varying the pause, and scarce ever suffers it to rest upon the same syllable in more than two, and seldom in so many as two, verses together. Here it is upon the first syllable of the verse,

— others on the grass
Couch'd, | and now fill'd with pasture gazing fat. IV. 351.

— such as in their souls infix'd
Plagues; | they astonish'd all resistance lost. VI. 838.

Upon the second,

— these to their nests
Were slunk, | all but the wakeful nightingale IV. 602.

— Down thither prone in flight
He speeds, | and through the vast ethereal sky V. 267.

Upon the third,

— what in me is dark
Illumin, | what is low raise and support; I. 23.

— as the wakeful bird
Sings darkling, | and in shadiest covert hid III. 39.

Upon the fourth,

— on he led his radiant files,
Dazling the moon; | these to the bow'r direct IV. 798.

— at his right hand victory
Sat eagle-wing'd; | beside him hung his bow, VI. 763.

Upon the fifth,

— bears, tigers, ounces, pards,
Gambol'd before them; | th'unwieldy elephant IV. 345.

— and in the air

Made horrid circles; | two broad
suns their shields VI. 305.

Upon the sixth,

His stature reach'd the sky, | and
on his crest IV. 988.

Girt with omnipotence, | with radiance crown'd. VII. 194.

Upon the seventh,

Majestic though in ruin: | sage he stood II. 305.

Birds on the branches warbling; |
all things smil'd VIII. 265.

Upon the eighth,

Hung on his shoulders like the moon, | whose orb I. 287.

A fairer person lost not Heav'n; |
he seem'd II. 110.

Upon the ninth,

Jehovah thundring out of Sion, |
thron'd

Between the Cherubim I. 386.
And bush with frizled hair implicit; | last

Rose as in dance the stately trees,
VII. 323.

And here upon the end,

— thou that day

Thy Father's dreadful thunder
didst not spare | III. 393.

Attended with ten thousand thousand
saints | VI. 767.

And sometimes to give the greater variety to the verse, there are two or more pauses in the same line: as

— on the ground

Outstretch'd he lay, | on the cold
ground, | and oft

Curs'd his creation X. 851.

And

ims, | or sinks, | or wades |
reeps, | or flies: | II. 950.
ced, | spiritless, | afflicted, |
n. | VI. 852.

des this variety of the
ere are other excellencies
s's versification. The Eng-
ic verse approaches nearest
umbic of the Ancients, of
t wants only a foot; but
to be measur'd by the tone
ent, as well as by the time
nity. An Iambic foot is
: and one long syllable " ~ ,
ach feet constitute an Iam-
: but the Ancients seldom
: of the pure Iambic, espe-
works of any considerable
but oftner of the mix'd
that is with a proper in-
re of other measures; and
: perhaps Milton has ex-
is happy a variety as any
atever, or indeed as the na-
a verse will admit, that con-
of five feet, and ten syl-
r the most part. Sometimes
us almost pure Iambics, as

ld fō loūd, thāt; āll thē hōl-
r dēep
ll rēfounded.

es he intermixes the Tro-
foot of one long and one
lable " ~ , as in v. 49.

urft defy th' Omnīpotent to
as.

es the Spondee or foot of
z syllables " ~ , as in v. 21.
ike sātt brōoding on the
t abyfs.

es the Pyrrichius or foot

of two short syllables " ~ , as in
v. 64.

Serv'd only tō discover fights of
woe.

Sometimes the Dactyle or foot of
one long and two short syllables
" ~ ~ , as in v. 45.

Hurl'd headlong flaming from th'ē-
thēreal sky.

Sometimes the Anapaest or foot of
two short and one long syllable
" ~ ~ , as in v. 87.

Mȳrīāds though bright! If he
whom mutual league

Sometimes the Tribrachus or foot
of three short syllables " ~ ~ , as
in v. 709.

Tō māny a row of pipes the sound-
board breathes.

And sometimes there is variety of
these measures in the same verse,
and seldom or never the same mea-
sures in two verses together. And
these changes are not only rung for
the sake of the greater variety, but
are so contriv'd as to make the
sound more expressive of the sense.
And this is another great art of ver-
sification, the adapting of the very
sounds, as well as words, to the
subject matter, the stile of sound,
as Mr. Pope calls it: and in this
Milton is excellent as in all the
rest, and we shall give several in-
stances of it in the course of these
remarks. So that he has abun-
dantly exemplified in his own
practice the rules laid down by
himself in his preface, his versifi-
cation having all the requisites of
*true musical delight, which as he
says consists only in apt numbers, fit
quantity*

Of Oreb, or of Sinai, didst inspire
 That shepherd, who first taught the chosen seed,
 In the beginning how the Heav'ns and Earth
 Rose out of Chaos: Or if Sion hill
 Delight thee more, and Siloa's brook that flow'd

10

Fast

Dr. Bentley shows that *sacred hill* is common among the poets in several languages; from whence I should conclude that *sacred* is a general epithet: whereas *secret*, in the sense which I have given it, is the most peculiar one that can be: and therefore (to use Dr. Bentley's words) *if, as the best poets have adjudg'd, a proper epithet is to be prefer'd to a general one, I have such an esteem for our poet, that which of the two words is the better, That I say (viz. secret) was dictated by Milton.* Pearce.

We have given this excellent note at length, as we have met with several persons who have approved of Dr. Bentley's emendation. It may be too that the poet had a farther meaning in the use of this epithet in this place; for being accustomed to make use of words in the signification that they bear in the learned languages, he may very well be supposed to use the word *secret* in the same sense as the Latin *secretus*, set apart or separate, like the *secretosque pios* in Virgil, *Æn.* VIII. 670. and it appears from Scripture, that while Moses was with God in the mount, the people were not to come near it or touch it, till after a signal given, and then they were only to ap-

proach, and not to ascend it, nor pass the bounds set for them upon pain of death. *Exod.* XIX. So that upon all accounts *secret* is the most proper epithet, that could have been chosen.

8. *That shepherd, who first &c.*] For *Moses kept the flock of Jethro his father-in-law.* *Exod.* III. 1. And he is very properly said to have first taught the chosen seed, being the most ancient writer among the Jews, and indeed the most ancient that is now extant in the world.

9. *In the beginning how the Heav'ns and Earth*] Alluding to the first words of *Genesis*.

11. *and Siloa's brook*] *Siloa* was a small river that flow'd near the temple at Jerusalem. It is mention'd *Isai.* VIII. 6. So that in effect he invokes the heavenly Muse, that inspir'd David and the Prophets on mount Sion, and at Jerusalem, as well as Moses on mount Sinai.

15. *Above th' Aonian mount,*] A poetical expression for soaring to a highth above other poets. The mountains of Bœotia, anciently called Aonia, were the haunt of the Muses, and thus Virgil, *Ecl.* VI. 65.

Ams

PARADISE LOST.

9

the oracle of God; I thence
 thy aid to my adventrous song,
 with no middle flight intends to soar
 up to h' Aonian mount, while it pursues
 unattempted yet in prose or rhyme.

15

And

montes ut duxerit una fo-
l,
 Georg. III. 11.
ens deducam vertice Mu-

erwards, I know not by
 ty, that country was fa-
 the dulness of its inha-

gs unattempted yet in prose
me.] Milton appears to
 at a different thing by
 , from *rime* in his pre-
 re it is six times men-
 always spell'd without
 reas in all the editions,
 atley's appear'd, *rhime*
 ace of the poem was
 h an *b*. Milton pro-
 nt a difference in the
 naking so constant a dif-
 the spelling; and in-
 t we should here under-
rhime, not the *jingling*
to endings, but *verse* in
 he word being deriv'd
 mus; ῥυθμος. Ariosto

detta in prosa mai, ne
s,

word for word the same
 Milton says here. *Pearce*.

It is evident enough that by
rhime in this place is meant *verse*
 in general; but I suppose Milton
 thought it would sound too low
 and familiar to the ear to say *in*
prose or verse, and therefore chose
 rather to say *in prose or rhime*.
 When he says *in prose or verse*, he
 adds an epithet to take off from
 the commonness of the expression,
 as in V. 150.

— such prompt eloquence
 Flow'd from their lips, *in prose or*
numerous verse.

It is said that Milton took the first
 hint of this poem from an Italian
 tragedy called *Il Paradiso perso*; and
 it is pretended that he has bor-
 row'd largely from Masenius, a
 German Jesuit, and other modern
 authors; but it is all a pretence,
 he made use of all authors, such
 was his learning; but such is his
 genius, he is no copyer, his poem
 is plainly an original, if ever there
 was one. His subject indeed of
 the fall of Man together with the
 principal episodes may be said to
 be as old as Scripture, but his man-
 ner of handling them is entirely
 new, with new illustrations and new
 beauties of his own; and he may
 as justly boast of the novelty of his
 poem, as any of the ancient poets

K

below

And chiefly Thou, O Spirit, that dost prefer
 Before all temples th' upright heart and pure,
 Instruct me, for Thou know'st; Thou from the first
 Wast present, and with mighty wings outspread 20
 Dove-like satst brooding on the vast abyss,
 And mad'st it pregnant: what in me is dark

Illumin,

bestow that recommendation upon their works; as Lucretius I. 925.

Avia Pieridum peragro loca, nullius ante
 Trita solo : &c.

and Virgil Georg. III. 3.

Cætera quæ vacuas tenuissent carmina mentes

Omnia jam vulgata. —

Primus ego in patriam &c.

292. — Juvat ire jugis, quæ nulla priorum

Castaliam molli divertitur orbita clivo.

17. *And chiefly Thou, O Spirit, &c.*] Invoking the Muse is commonly a matter of mere form, wherein the poets neither mean, nor desire to be thought to mean any thing seriously. But the Holy Ghost here invoc'd is too solemn a name to be used insignificantly; and besides our author, in the beginning of his next work *Paradise Regain'd*, scruples not to say to the same divine person

— Inspire,

As thou art wont, my prompted song, else mute.

This address therefore is no more formality. Yet some may think that he incurs a worse charge of enthusiasm, or even profaneness in vouching inspiration for his performance: but the Scriptures represent inspiration as of a much larger extent than is commonly apprehended, teaching that *every good gift*, in naturals as well as in moral, *descendeth from the great Father of lights*, Jam. I. 17. And an extraordinary skill even in mechanical arts is there ascribed to the illumination of the Holy Ghost. It is said of Bezaleel who was to make the furniture of the tabernacle, that *the Lord had filled him with the Spirit of God, in wisdom, in understanding, and in knowledge, and in all manner of workmanship, and to devise curious works, &c.* Exod. XXXV. 31. Heylin.

It may be observed too in justification of our author, that other sacred poems are not without the like invocations, and particularly Spenser's Hymns of Heavenly Love and Heavenly Beauty, as well as some modern Latin poems. But I conceive that Milton intended something more, for I have been informed

n, what is low raise and support;
to the highth of this great argument

affert eternal Providence, 25
ustify the ways of God to Men.

first, for Heav'n hides nothing from thy view,
he deep tract of Hell, say first what cause

Mov'd

id by those, who had oppor- of conversing with his wi- at she was wont to say that eally look upon himself as and I think his works are out a spirit of enthusiasm. beginning of his 2d book *Reason of Church government*, g of his design of writing in the English language, he It was not to be obtained the invocation of Dame Me- and her Siren daughters, by devout prayer to that al Spirit who can enrich all utterance and know- and sends out his Sera- , with the hallow'd fire of tar, to touch and purify the if whom he pleases, p. 61. 138. *ψυχὰς με, for Thou know'st;*] it. Idyl. XXII. 116.

ἡ Δία, οὐ γὰρ ἄδρα:
Dove-like just brooding] Al- to Gen. I. 2. *the Spirit of red on the face of the waters;* word that we translate *moved properly brooded*, as a bird on her eggs; and he says *dove* rather than any other

bird, because the descent of the Holy Ghost is compared to a dove in Scripture, Luke III. 22. As Milton studied the Scriptures in the original languages, his images and expressions are oftner copied from them, than from our translation.

26. *And justify the ways of God to Men.*] A verse, which Mr. Pope has thought fit to borrow with some little variation, in the beginning of his Essay on Man,

But vindicate the ways of God to Man.

It is not easy to conceive any good reason for Mr. Pope's preferring the word *vindicate*, but Milton makes use of the word *justify*, as it is the Scripture word, *That thou mightest be justified in thy sayings*, Rom. III. 4. And *the ways of God to Men* are justified in the many argumentative discourses throughout the poem, and particularly in the conferences between God the Father and the Son.

27. *Say first, for Heav'n hides nothing from thy view,*
Nor the deep tract of Hell,—] The poets attribute a kind of omni-
K 2 science

Mov'd our grand parents, in that happy state,
 Favor'd of Heav'n so highly, to fall off 30
 From their Creator, and transgress his will
 For one restraint, lords of the world besides?
 Who first seduc'd them to that foul revolt?
 Th' infernal Serpent; he it was, whose guile,
 Stirr'd up with envy and revenge, deceiv'd 35
 The mother of mankind, what time his pride

Had

science to the Muse, and very rightly, as it enables them to speak of things which could not otherwise be supposed to come to their knowledge. Thus Homer, *Iliad*. II. 485.

Ἦμεις γὰρ θεαί εἰσι, παρῆσσι τῶν
 ἰσῆ τῆ παύλα.

And Virgil *Æn.* VII. 645.

Et meministis enim, Divæ, et mem-
 orare potestis.

Milton's Muse, being the Holy Spirit, must of course be omniscient. And the mention of *Heaven* and *Hell* is very proper in this place, as the scene of so great a part of the poem is laid sometimes in Hell, and sometimes in Heaven.

32. *For one restraint,*] For one thing that was restrain'd, every thing else being freely indulg'd to them, and only the tree of knowledge forbidden.

33. *Who first seduc'd them to that foul revolt?*

Th' infernal Serpent;] An imitation of Homer, *Iliad*. I. 8. where the question is ask'd, and the answer return'd much in the same manner.

Τίς τ' ἀρ σφωε θεῶν ἑσθ' ἔζηωε
 κῆ μαχεσθαι;

Ἀντὺς κ' Διὸς ὕψι.

38. — *by whose aid aspiring To set himself in glory above his peers,*] Here Dr. Bentley objects, that Satan's crime was not, his aiming above his peers: he was in place high above them before, as the Doctor proves from V. 812. But tho' this be true, yet Milton may be right here; for the force of the words seems, not that Satan aspir'd to set himself above his peers, but that he aspir'd to set himself in glory, &c that is in divine glory, in such glory as God and his Son were set in. Here was his crime: and this is what God charges him with in V. 725.

— who

cast him out from Heav'n, with all his host
 rebel Angels, by whose aid aspiring
 set himself in glory' above his peers,
 trusted to have equal'd the most High,
 oppos'd; and with ambitious aim
 against the throne and monarchy of God
 'd impious war in Heav'n and battel proud
 a vain attempt. Him the almighty Power
 Hurl'd

— who intends to erect his
 throne
 to ours, —

VI. 88. Milton says that the
 Angels hop'd

in the mount of God, and
 his throne
 the cavier of his state, the
 sound

to the same purpose VII.
 From these passages it
 that there is no occasion
 Bentley's alteration, which

— aspiring
 and glory above the Son
 God. Pearce.

the other methods which
 has employ'd to diversify
 above his numbers, he takes
 liberties as Shakespear
 of our old poets, and in
 of the Greeks and Latins

often cuts off the vowel at the end
 of a word, when the next word
 begins with a vowel; though he
 does not like the Greeks wholly
 drop the vowel, but still retains it
 in writing like the Latins. Another
 liberty, that he takes likewise
 for the greater improvement and
 variety of his versification, is pro-
 nouncing the same word sometimes
 as two syllables, and sometimes
 as only one syllable or two short ones.
 We have frequent instances in *spi-
 rit, ruin, riot, reason, highest*, and
 several other words. But then these
 excellencies in Milton's verse are
 attended with this inconvenience,
 that his numbers seem embaras'd
 to such readers, as know not, or
 know not readily, where such eli-
 sion or abbreviation of vowels is
 to take place; and therefore for
 their sakes we shall take care
 throughout this edition to mark
 such vowels as are to be cut off,
 and such as are to be contracted and
 abbreviated, thus'.

Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' ethereal sky, 45
 With hideous ruin and combustion, down
 To bottomless perdition, there to dwell
 In adamantin chains and penal fire,
 Who durst defy th' Omnipotent to arms.
 Nine times the space that measures day and night 50
 To mortal men, he with his horrid crew
 Lay vanquish'd, rolling in the fiery gulf,
 Confounded though immortal: But his doom
 Reserv'd him to more wrath; for now the thought

Both

45. *Hurl'd headlong flaming from th' ethereal sky,*] Hom. Iliad. I. 591.

Ἠρθε, ποδῶν τεύαλον, ἀπο βηλυ
 Σαπειστοιο.

Hurl'd headlong downward from th' ethereal height. Pope.

46. *With hideous ruin and combustion,*] *Ruin* is deriv'd from *ruo*, and includes the idea of falling with violence and precipitation, and *combustion* is more than *flaming* in the foregoing verse, it is burning in a dreadful manner. So that he was not only *hurl'd headlong flaming*, but he was *hurl'd headlong flaming with hideous ruin and combustion*; and what occasion is there then for reading with Dr. Bentley *confusion* instead of *combustion*?

48. *In adamantin chains*] Æschylus Prometh. 6.

Ἀδαμαντινας αἰδῆσιν.

50. *Nine times &c.*] The nine days astonishment, in which the Angels lay intranced after their dreadful overthrow and fall from Heaven, before they could recover either the use of thought or speech, is a noble *circumstance*, and very finely imagined. The division of Hell into seas of fire, and into firm ground impregnant with the same furious element, with that particular circumstance of the exclusion of *hope* from those infernal regions, are instances of the same great and fruitful invention.

Addition.

63. — *darkness visible*] Milton seems to have used these words to signify *gloom*: Absolute darkness

THE PARADISE LOST. 15

of lost happiness and lasting pain 55
 ments him; round he throws his baleful eyes,
 t witness'd huge affliction and dismay
 'd with obdurate pride and stedfast hate:
 nce, as far as Angels ken, he views
 . dismal situation waste and wild; 60
 ungeon horrible on all sides round
 ne great furnace flam'd, yet from those flames
 light, but rather darkness visible
 'd only to discover sights of woe,

Regions

ctly speaking invisible; but
 e there is a gloom only, there
 much light remaining as
 s to show that there are ob-
 and yet that those objects
 t be distinctly seen: In this
 Milton seems to use the strong
 old expression, *darkness visible*.

“ where some dismal tapers af-
 “ forded just light enough to see
 “ the obscurity.” See his Essay
 on Epic Poetry, p. 44. Euripides
 too expresses himself in the same
 poetical manner. Bac. 510.

—ως αὐ σκότησιν ἐσσοφὰ κτερας.

Pearce.

ra has a like expression, speak-
 of the Grotta of Paufilypo,
 c. Epist. LVII. Nihil illo car-
 longius, nihil illis faucibus ob-
 us, quæ nobis præstant, non ut
 abras videamus, sed ut ipsas.

There is much the same image in
 Spenser, but not so bold, Fairy
 Queen, B. 1. Cant. 1. St. 14.

A little glooming light, much like
 a shade.

as Monf. Voltaire observes,
 nio de Solis, in his excellent
 ry of Mexico hath ventur'd
 as same thought, when speak-
 of the place wherein Monte-
 s was wont to consult his
 es; “ 'Twas a large dark
 bterraneous vault, says he,

Or after all, the author might per-
 haps take the hint from himself in
 his Il Penseroso,

Where glowing embers through
 the room
 Teach light to counterfeit a
 gloom.

Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
 And rest can never dwell, hope never comes
 That comes to all; but torture without end
 Still urges, and a fiery deluge, fed
 With ever-burning sulphur unconsum'd:
 Such place eternal Justice had prepar'd 70
 For those rebellious, here their pris'on ordain'd
 In utter darkness, and their portion set
 As far remov'd from God and light of Heaven,
 As from the center thrice to th' utmost pole.

0

72. *In utter darkness,*] Dr. Bentley reads *outer* here and in many other places of this poem, because it is in Scripture, τὸ κέντρον τῆς οὐρανόσφαιρας: But my dictionaries tell me that *utter* and *outer* are both the same word, differently spell'd and pronounc'd. Milton, in the argument of this book, says *in a place of utter darkness*, and no where throughout the poem does the poet use *outer*. Pearce.

Spenser justifies the present reading by frequently using the word *utter* for *outer*, as in *Fairy Queen*, B. 2. Cant. 2. St. 34.

And inly grieve, as doth an hidden
 moth
 The inner garment fret, not *sb'* *utter* touch.

And again, B. 4. Cant. 10. St. 11.

Till to the bridge's *utter gate* I came. *Thyer.*

74. *As from the center thrice to sb' utmost pole.*] Thrice as far as it is from the center of the earth (which is the center of the world according to Milton's system, IX. 103. and X. 671.) to the pole of the world; for it is the pole of the universe, far beyond the pole of the earth, which is here call'd the *utmost pole*. It is observable that Homer makes the seat of Hell as far beneath the deepest pit of earth, as the Heaven is above the earth,

Τόσσον ἐπέθ' αἰδέω, ἵσον ὑπὲρ
 αὖ' ἀπὸ γαίης. *Iliad.* VIII. 16.

Virgil makes it *twice* as far,

— Tum Tartarus ipse

Bi

O how unlike the place from whence they fell! 75
 There the companions of his fall, o'erwhelm'd
 With floods and whirlwinds of tempestuous fire,
 He soon discerns, and wett'ring by his side
 One next himself in pow'r, and next in crime,
 Long after known in Palestine, and nam'd 80
 Beëlzebub. To whom th' Arch-Enemy,
 And thence in Heav'n call'd Satan, with bold words
 Breaking the horrid silence thus began.

If thou beest he; but O how fall'n! how chang'd.

From

Bis patet in præceptis tantum tenditque sub umbras,

Quantus ad æthereum cœli suspectus Olympum. Æn. VI. 577.

And Milton *thrice* as far,

As far remov'd from God and light of Heaven,

As from the center *thrice* to th' utmost pole:

As if these three great poets had stretch'd their utmost genius, and vied with each other, who should extend his idea of the depth of Hell farthest. But Milton's whole description of Hell as much exceeds theirs, as in this single circumstance of the depth of it. And how cool and unaffected is the *ταρταρον κενυνη*, the *σιδηραι τε πυλαι* & *χαλκον υδωρ* of Homer, and the *lagentes campi*, the

ferrea turris, and *borrifono stridentes cardine portæ* of Virgil, in comparison with this description by Milton, concluding with that artful contrast,

O how unlike the place from whence they fell!

81. *Beëlzebub.*] The lord of flies, an idol worshipp'd at Ecron, a city of the Philistines, 2 Kings I. 2. He is call'd *prince of the Devils*, Mat. XII. 24. therefore deservedly here made second to Satan himself.

Hume.

82. *And thence in Heav'n call'd Satan.*] For the word *Satan* in Hebrew signifies an enemy: he is the enemy by way of eminence, the chief enemy of God and Man.

84. *If thou beest he; &c.*] The thoughts in the first speech and de-

From him, who in the happy realms of light 85
 Cloth'd with transcendent brightness didst outshine
 Myriads though bright! If he whom mutual league,
 United thoughts and counsels, equal hope
 And hazard in the glorious enterprise,
 Join'd with me once, now misery hath join'd 90
 In equal ru'in: into what pit thou seest

From

description of Satan, who is one of the principal actors in this poem, are wonderfully proper to give us a full idea of him. His pride envy and revenge, obstinacy despair and impenitence, are all of them very artfully interwoven. In short, his first speech is a complication of all those passions, which discover themselves separately in several other of his speeches in the poem. Addison.

The change and confusion of these enemies of God is most artfully express'd in the abruptness of the beginning of this speech: If thou art he, that Beelzebub — He stops, and falls into a bitter reflection on their present condition, compared with that in which they lately were. He attempts again to open his mind; cannot proceed on what he intends to say, but returns to those sad thoughts; still doubting whether 'tis really his associate in the revolt, as now in misery and ruin; by that time he had expatiated on this (his heart was oppress'd with it) he is assured to

whom he speaks, and goes on to declare his proud unrelenting mind. Richardson.

84. — but O how fall'n! how chang'd

From him,] He imitates Isaiah and Virgil at the same time. Isa. XIV. 12. *How art thou fallen, &c.* and Virgil's *Æn.* II. 274.

Hei mihi qualis erat! quantum mutatus ab illo!

86. *Cloth'd with transcendent brightness; didst outshine*

Myriads though bright!] Imitated from Homer, *Odyss.* VI. 110. where Diana excels all her nymphs in beauty, though all of them be beautiful.

Ἦνα δ' αἰγυρωτὴ πηλεῖται, καλῶν δ' ἴσι πασαι. Bentley.

91. *In equal ruin:]* So it is in all the editions. *And equal ruin* is Dr. Bentley's emendation, which Dr. Pearce allows (and I believe every body must allow) to be just and proper; it being very easy to mistake one of these

From what highth fall'n, so much the stronger prov'd
 He with his thunder : and till then who knew
 The force of those dire arms? yet not for those,
 Nor what the potent victor in his rage
 Can else inflict, do I repent or change,
 Though chang'd in outward lustre, that fix'd mind,
 And high disdain from sense of injur'd merit,

That

these words for the other ; and other instances perhaps may occur in the course of this work. *Equal ruin* hath join'd now, as *equal hope* join'd before ; somewhat like that in Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, I. 351.

O soror, O conjux, O fœmina sola
 superstes,
 Quam commune mihi genus, et patruelis origo,
 Deinde torus junxit, nunc ipsa pericula jungunt.

In equal ruin cannot answer to *in the glorious enterprise*, because Milton places a comma after *enterprise*, and in construction it follows after *backward*, and not after *join'd*.

93: *He with his thunder* :] There is an uncommon beauty in this expression. Satan disdains to utter the name of God, tho' he cannot but acknowledge his superiority. So again ver. 257.

--- all but less than he
 Whom thunder hath made greater.

94. — yet not for those,

Nor what the potent victor in his rage

Can else inflict, do I repent or change, &c.] Milton in this and other passages, where he is describing the fierce and unrelenting spirit of Satan, seems very plainly to have copied after the picture that Æschylus gives of Prometheus. Thus Prometheus speaking of Jupiter. Prom. Vinct. 991.

— ἐπιθεῶ μὲν αἰθαλυσά φλοῦξ,
 Λευκοπέτρῃ δὲ νιφάδι, καὶ βροντημασι

Χθονίοις κυκὰ τῷ πάντῃ, καὶ ταρασσίνῃ,

Γναμψὲν γὰρ ἔδεν τῶν δὲ μ', ὡς καὶ φέρεται. κ. τ. λ. Thyer.

98. *And high disdain*] This is a favorite expression of Spenser's. Thus in the *Fairy Queen*, B. 1. Cant. 1. St. 19.

His gall did grate for grief and high disdain.

This is the *alto sdegno* of the Italians, from whom no doubt he had it. Thyer.

105. --- what

That with the Mightiest rais'd me to contend,
 And to the fierce contention brought along. 100
 Innumerable force of Spirits arm'd,
 That durst dislike his reign, and me preferring,
 His utmost pow'r with adverse pow'r oppos'd
 In dubious battel on the plains of Heaven,
 And shook his throne. What though the field be lost?
 All is not lost; th' unconquerable will, 106
 And study of revenge, immortal hate,
 And courage never to submit or yield,
 And what is else not to be overcome;
 That glory never shall his wrath or might 110
 Extort from me. To bow and sue for grace
 With suppliant knee, and deify his power,

Who

105. — *What though the field be lost?*

All is not lost; &c.] This passage is an excellent improvement upon Satan's speech to the infernal Spirits in Tasso, Cant. 4. St. 15. but seems to be express'd from Fairfax his translation rather than from the original.

We lost the field, yet lost we not our heart.

109. *And what is else not to be overcome;*] Here should be no note of interrogation, but only a semi-colon. The words *And what else not to be overcome* signify *Et si quid sit aliud quod superari nequeat,*

and if there be any thing else (besides the particulars mention'd) which is not to be overcome.

Pearce.

110. *That glory &c.*] *That* refers to what went before; his *unconquerable will and study of revenge, his immortal hate and courage never to submit or yield, and what besides is not to be overcome;* these Satan esteems his glory, and *that glory* he says God never should extort from him. And then begins a new sentence according to all the best editions, *To bow and sue for grace, &c* — *that were low indeed, &c* that still referring to what went before; and by observing this punctuation, this

Who from the terror of this arm so late
 Doubted his empire; that were low indeed,
 That were an ignominy' and shame beneath 115
 This downfall; since by fate the strength of Gods
 And this empyreal substance cannot fail,
 Since through experience of this great event
 In arms not worse, in foresight much advanc'd,
 We may with more successful hope resolve 120
 To wage by force or guile eternal war,
 Irreconcilable to our grand foe,
 Who now triumphs, and in th' excess of joy
 Sole reigning holds the tyranny of Heaven.

So spake th' apostate Angel, though in pain, 125
 Vaunting aloud, but rack'd with deep despair:

And

this whole passage, which has perplex'd and confounded so many readers and writers, is render'd plain and easy to be understood.

116. — *since by fate &c.*] For Satan supposes the Angels to submit by fate and necessity, and he represents them of an *empyreal*, that is a *fiery* substance, as the Scripture itself doth; *He maketh his Angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire.* Psa. CIV. 4. Heb. I. 7. Satan disdain to submit, since the Angels (as he says) are necessarily immortal and cannot be destroy'd, and since too they are now improved in experience, and may hope to carry on the war more

successfully, notwithstanding the present triumph of their adversary in Heaven.

124. — *the tyranny of Heaven.*] The poet speaking in his own person at ver. 42. of the supremacy of the Deity calls it *the throne and monarchy of God*; but here very artfully alters it to *the tyranny of Heaven.* Thyer.

125. *So spake th' apostate Angel, tho' in pain, Vaunting loud, but rack'd with deep despair:*] The sense of the last verse rises finely above that of the former: In the first verse it is only said, that he *spake though in pain*: In the last the poet expresses

And him thus answer'd soon his bold compeer.

O Prince, O Chief of many throned Powers,
 That led th' imbattel'd Seraphim to war
 Under thy conduct, and in dreadful deeds 130
 Fearless, indanger'd Heav'n's perpetual king,
 And put to proof his high supremacy,
 Whether upheld by strength, or chance, or fate ;
 Too well I see and rue the dire event,
 That with sad overthrow and foul defeat 135
 Hath lost us Heav'n, and all this mighty host
 In horrible destruction laid thus low,
 As far as Gods and heav'nly essences
 Can perish: for the mind and spirit remains
 Invincible, and vigor soon returns, 140
 Though all our glory' extinct, and happy state

Here

a great deal more; for Satan not only *spake* but he *vaunted aloud*, and yet at the same time he was not only *in pain*, but was *rack'd with deep despair*.

Pearce. The poet had probably in view this passage of Virgil. *Æn.* I. 208.

Talia voce refert; curisque in-
 gentibus æger
 Spem vultu simulat, premit altum
 corde dolorem.

131. — *indanger'd Heav'n's per-
 petual king,*] The reader

should remark here the propriety of the word *perpetual*. *Beitzebub* doth not say *eternal king*, for then he could not have boasted of *indangering* his kingdom: but he endeavors to detract as much as he can from God's everlasting dominion, and calls him only *perpetual king*, king from time immemorial or without interruption, as *Ovid* says *perpetuum carmen*, *Met.* I. 4.

— *primaque ab origine mundi
 Ad mea perpetuum deducite tem-
 pora carmen.*

What

Here swallow'd up in endless misery.
 But what if he our conqu'ror (whom I now
 Of force believe almighty, since no less
 Than such could have o'er-pow'r'd such force as ours)
 Have left us this our spi'rit and strength entire. 146
 Strongly to suffer and support our pains,
 That we may so suffice his vengeful ire,
 Or do him mightier service as his thralls
 By right of war, whate'er his business be 150
 Here in the heart of Hell to work in fire,
 Or do his errands in the gloomy deep;
 What can it then avail, though yet we feel
 Strength undiminish'd, or eternal being
 To undergo eternal punishment? 155
 Whereto with speedy words th' Arch-Fiend reply'd.
 Fall'n

What Beëlzebub means here is expressed more at large afterwards by Satan, ver. 637.

His torments are the torments which he hath appointed for us to suffer. Many instances of this way of speaking may be found in this poem. *Pearce.*

— But he who reigns
 Monarch in Heav'n, till then as
 one secure
 Sat on his throne, upheld by old
 repute,
 Consent or custom, &c.

156. *Whereto* —] To what he had said last, which had startled Satan, and to which he thinks it proper to make a *speedy* reply. *Speedy words* are better applied here than *επεια απεγνωστα* are always in Homer.

150. — *whate'er his business be*] The business which God hath appointed for us to do. So in II. 70.

Back to the gates of Heav'n: the sulphurous hail
 Shot after us in storm, o'erblown hath laid
 The fiery furge, that from the precipice
 Of Heav'n receiv'd us falling; and the thunder,
 Wing'd with red lightning and impetuous rage, 175
 Perhaps hath spent his shafts, and ceases now
 To bellow through the vast and boundless deep.
 Let us not slip th' occasion, whether scorn,
 Or satiate fury yield it from our foe.
 Seest thou yon dreary plain, forlorn and wild, 180
 The seat of desolation, void of light,
 Save what the glimmering of these livid flames
 Casts pale and dreadful? Thither let us tend
 From off the tossing of these fiery waves,

There

could not all be effected by a single hand: and what a sublime idea must it give us of the terrors of the Messiah, that he alone should be as formidable as if the whole host of Heaven were pursuing! So that this seeming contradiction, upon examination, proves rather a beauty than any blemish to the poem.

186. —our afflicted Pow'rs,] The word *afflicted* here is intended to be understood in the Latin sense, routed, ruin'd, utterly broken.

Richardson.

191. *If not what resolution*] *What* reinforcement; to which is return'd *If not*: a vicious syntax: but the poet gave it *If none*.

Bentley.

193. *With head up-lift above the waves, and eyes*

That sparkling blaz'd, his other parts besides

Prone on the flood,] Somewhat like those lines in Virgil of two monstrous serpents, *Æa. II. 206.*

Pectora

¶ PARADISE LOST. 27

rest, if any rest can harbour there, 185

re-assembling our afflicted Powers,

let how we may henceforth most offend

our enemy, our own loss how repair,

and overcome this dire calamity,

reinforcement we may gain from hope, 190

and what resolution from despair.

18 Satan talking to his nearest mate

his head up-lift above the wave, and eyes

sparkling blaz'd, his other parts besides

on the flood, extended long and large 195

floating many a rood, in bulk as huge

as from the fables name of monstrous size,

as an, or Earth-born, that warr'd on Jove,

Briareos

quorum inter fluctus ar-
a; jubæque

æz exuperant undas; pars
æz pontum
git.

[*Lay floating many a rood,*]
is the fourth part of an
that the bulk of Sa-
ppres'd by the same sort
are, as that of one of
as in Virgil, *Æn.* VI.

Per tota novem cui *jugera* corpus
Porrigitur.

And also that of the old dragon
in Spenser. *Fairy Queen* B. 1.
Cant. 11. St. 8.

That with his largeness measured
much land.

198. *Titanian, or Earth-born,*]

Genus antiquum terræ, *Titania*
pubes. *Æn.* VI. 580.

L 2

199. *Bria-*

Briareos or Typhon, whom the den
 By ancient Tarsus held, or that sea-beast
 Leviathan, which God of all his works
 Created hugest that swim th' ocean stream ;
 Him haply slumb'ring on the Norway foam
 The pilot of some small night-founder'd skiff

Deeming

199. *Briareos*] So Milton writes it, that it may be pronounced as four syllables; and not *Briareus*, which is pronounced as three.

Et centumgeninus Briareus.

Virg. *Æn.* VI. 287.

And Briareus with all his hundred hands. Dryden.

199. — or *Typhon*, whom the den

By ancient *Tarsus* held,] *Typhon* is the same with *Typhoeus*. That the den of *Typhoeus* was in *Cilicia*, of which *Tarsus* was a celebrated city, we are told by *Pindar* and *Pomponius Mela*. I am much mistaken, if *Milton* did not make use of *Farnaby's* note on *Ovid Met.* V. 347. to which I refer the reader. He took *ancient Tarsus* perhaps from *Nonnus*:

Ταρσῶν αἰδομένην πρωτοπόλις

which is quoted in *Lloyd's Dictionary*. *Fortin*.

200. — that sea-beast

Leviathan,] The best critics seem now to be agreed, that the author of the book of *Job* by the *leviathan* meant the *crocodile*; and *Milton* describes it in the same manner partly as a *fish* and partly as a

beast, and attributes *scales* to it: and yet by some things one would think that he took it rather for a *whale* (as was the general opinion) there being no *crocodiles* upon the coasts of *Norway*, and what follows being related of the whale, but never, as I have heard, of the *crocodile*.

202. *Created hugest &c.*] This verse is found fault with as being too rough and absonous, but that is not a fault but a beauty here, as it better expresses the hugeness and unwieldiness of the creature, and no doubt was design'd by the author.

204. — *night-founder'd skiff*] Some little boat, whose pilot dares not proceed in his course for fear of the dark night; a metaphor taken from a founder'd horse that can go no farther.

Hume.

Dr. Bentley reads *nigh-founder'd*; but the common reading is better, because if (as the *Doctor* says) foundering is sinking by a leaking in the ship, it would be of little use to the pilot to fix his anchor on an island, the skiff would sink notwithstanding, if leaky. By *night-founder'd* *Milton* means overtaken by

ning some iland, oft, as sea-men tell, 205
 a fixed anchor in his skaly rind
 rs by his side under the lee, while night
 ts the sea, and wish'd morn delays:
 retch'd out huge in length the Ar'ch-Fiend lay
 n'd on the burning lake, nor ever thence 210
 Had

night, and thence at a loss way to sail. That the poet of what besel the pilot by appears from ver. 207. *umbil sweeps the sea*. Milton, in his call'd the Mask, uses the same : the two brothers having air way in the wood, one of lays,

— for certain er some one, like us, *night-ownder'd* here &c. Pearce.

— as sea-men tell.] Words added to obviate the incredi- of casting anchor in this st. Home.

1. *Moors by his side under the lee,*] Anchors by his side wind. *Mooring* at sea is the g out of anchors in a proper for the secure riding of a

The *lee* or *lee-shore* is that hich the wind blows, so that *under the lee* of the shore is to ose under the weather-shore nder wind. See Chambers's

An instance this among of our author's affectation use of technical terms.

7. — *while night* *sweeps the sea,*] A much finer ex-

pression than *umbrae nox operit terras* of Virgil *Æn. IV. 352*. But our author in this (as Mr. Thyer remarks) alludes to the figurative description of night used by the poets, particularly Spenser. *Fairy Queen. B. 1. Cant. 11. St. 49.*

By this the drooping day-light 'gan to fade,
 And yield his room to sad suc-
 ceeding night,
Who with her subtle mantle 'gan to
shade
The face of earth.

Milton also in the same taste speak- ing of the moon, *IV. 609.*

And o'er the dark her silver mantle threw.

209. *So stretch'd out huge in length the Ar'ch-Fiend lay,*] The length of this verse, consisting of so many monosyllables, and pronounc'd so slowly, is excellently adapted to the subject that it would describe. The tone is upon the first syllable in this line, *the Ar'ch-Fiend lay*; whereas it was upon the last syllable of the word in ver. 156. *th' Arch-Fiend reply'd*; a liberty that Milton sometimes takes to pronounce the same word with

Had ris'n or heav'd his head, but that the will
And high permission of all-ruling Heaven
Left him at large to his own dark designs,
That with reiterated crimes he might
Heap on himself damnation, while he fought 215
Evil to others, and enrag'd might see
How all his malice serv'd but to bring forth
Infinite goodness, grace and mercy shown
On Man by him seduc'd, but on himself
Treble confusion, wrath and vengeance pour'd. 220
Forthwith upright he rears from off the pool
His mighty stature; on each hand the flames

ows, leave i'th' midst a horrid vale.
 with expanded wings he steers his flight 225
 incumbent on the dusky air
 elt unusual weight, till on dry land
 hts, if it were land that ever burn'd
 solid, as the lake with liquid fire;
 ich appear'd in hue, as when the force 230
 xterranean wind transports a hill
 rom Pelorus, or the shatter'd side
 ind'ring Ætna, whose combustible
 el'd entrails thence conceiving fire,
 id with mineral fury, aid the winds, 235
 ave a singled bottom all involv'd

With

f the air's feeling unusual
 borrowed from Spenser,
 asking of the old dragon
 e lines, B. 1. Cant. 11.

with his waving wings dif-
 red wide,
 up high he lifted from
 ground,
 th strong flight did forcibly
 de
 elding air, which nigh too
 le found
 tting parts, and element
 und,
 r-so great a weight.

Tyber.

229. — *liquid fire*;] Virg. Ecl.
 VI. 33.
 Et liquidi simul ignis.

231. *Of subterranean wind*]
 Dr. Pearce conjectures that it should
 be read *subterranean winds*, because
 it is said *aid the winds* afterwards,
 and the conjecture seems probable
 and ingenious: the *fuel'd entrails*,
sublim'd with mineral fury, aid and
 increase *the winds* which first blew
 up the fire.

232. *Pelorus*,] A promontory of
 Sicily, now Cape di Faro, about a
 mile and half from Italy, whence
 Virgil *angusta a fede Pelori*, Æn.
 III. 687. *Muse.*

L 4

238. Of

With stench and smoke: Such resting found the sole
 Of unblest feet. Him follow'd his next mate,
 Both glorying to have 'scap'd the Stygian flood
 As Gods, and by their own recover'd strength, 240
 Not by the sufferance of supernal Power.

Is this the region, this the soil, the clime,
 Said then the lost Arch-Angel, this the seat
 That we must change for Heav'n, this mournful gloom
 For that celestial light? Be' it so, since he 245
 Who

238. *Of unblest feet.*] Dr. Bentley it is likewise in VIII. 591. and IX.
 ley to make the accent smoother 559. See the note on ver. 39.
 reads *Of feet unblest*, but Milton *Heavenly* *Heavenly*

no now is Sovran can dispose and bid
 that shall be right: farthest from him is best,
 whom reas'on hath equal'd, force hath made supreme
 above his equals. Farewel happy fields,
 where joy for ever dwells: Hail horrors, hail 250
 eternal world, and thou profoundest Hell
 receive thy new possessor; one who brings
 a mind not to be chang'd by place or time.
 His mind is its own place, and in itself

Can

ing his adversary to be al-
 ty. Whatever perverse inter-
 tion he puts on the justice,
 y and other attributes of the
 me Being, he frequently con-
 his omnipotence, that being
 perfection he was forced to
 him, and the only considera-
 which could support his pride
 the shame of his defeat.
 must I omit that beautiful cir-
 cstance of his bursting out into
 upon his survey of those in-
 rable Spirits whom he had in-
 d in the same guilt and ruin
 himself. *Addison.*

1. *Receive thy new possessor;*]
 passage seems to be an im-
 ment upon Sophocles, Ajax
 where Ajax, before he kills
 himself, cries out much in the same
 way.

καὶ ἐγὼ, ἔμοι φάσκει, ἐπέμπε
 ἵνα μὴ ὡς ἐμοί,

ΕΛΙΔ' ΕΛΕΙΔ' ΟΙΚΗΤΟΥΣ;
 ΕΛΕΙΔΕ ΜΕ.

253. — *by place or time.*] Milton
 is excellent in placing his words:
 invert them only, and say *by time*
 or *place*, and if the reader has any
 ear, he will perceive how much
 the alteration is for the worse. For
 the pause falling upon *place* in the
 first line *by time or place*, and again
 upon *place* in the next line *The*
mind is its own place, would of-
 fend the ear, and therefore is art-
 fully varied.

A mind not to be chang'd by place
 or time.

The mind is its own place.

254. *The mind is its own place.*]
 These are some of the extrava-
 gances of the Stoics, and could
 not be better ridiculed than they
 are here by being put in the mouth
 of Satan in his present situation.

Thyer.

257. — *all*

Can make a Heav'n of Hell, a Hell of Heav'n. 255

What matter where, if I be still the same,

And what I should be, all but less than he

Whom thunder hath made greater? Here at least

We shall be free; th' Almighty hath not built

Here for his envy, will not drive us hence: 260

Here we may reign secure, and in my choice

To reign is worth ambition though in Hell:

Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.

But wherefore let we then our faithful friends,

Th' associates and copartners of our loss, 265

Lie thus astonish'd on th' oblivious pool,

And

257. — *all but*] I have heard it propos'd to read *albeit*, that is although; but prefer the common reading.

259.—*th' Almighty hath not built Here for his envy,*] This is not a place that God should envy us, or think it too good for us; and in this sense the word *envy* is used in several places of the poem, and particularly in IV. 517. VIII. 494. and IX. 770.

263. *Better to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.*] This is a wonderfully fine improvement upon Prometheus's answer to Mercury in Æschylus. Prom. Vincit. 965.

ΤΗΣ ΣΗΣ ΛΑΤΡΕΙΑΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΜΗΝ ΔΥΣ-
ΠΕΡΞΙΑΝ,

Σαφώς επιστάσ', κ' αν αλλαξαιμ'
εγω'

Κρείσσον γαρ οίμαι τῆδε λατρευ-
ειν πετρα,

Ἡ πατερι φωνα Ζημι σιςεν αἴγυ-
λον.

It was a memorable saying of Julius Cæsar, that he had rather be the first man in a country-village than the second at Rome. The reader will observe how properly the saying is here applied and accommodated to the speaker. It is here made a sentiment worthy of Satan, and of him only;

— nam te nec sperent Tartara
regem,

Nec tibi regnandi veniat tam dira
cupido. Virg. Georg. I. 36.

GROUVE

all them not to share with us their part
 unhappy mansion, or once more
 rallied arms to try what may be yet
 w'd in Heav'n, or what more lost in Hell? 270
 Satan spake, and him Beëlzebub
 answer'd. Leader of those armies bright,
 but th' Omnipotent none could have foil'd,
 e they hear that voice, their liveliest pledge
 pe in fears and dangers, heard fo oft 275
 st extremes, and on the perilous edge
 ttel when it rag'd, in all assaults
 surest signal, they will soon resume

New

hath ascribed the same sense
 to Satan in his *Adamus Exul*,
 which our author seems
 imitated in some few places,
 translated the following
 it how much better is the
 the two last verses express'd
 of Milton!

Nam, me iudice,
 e dignam est ambitu, etfi
 Tartaro;

æsse Tartaro siquidem ju-
 quam in ipfis servi obire
 ua.

— on the perilous edge
 ttel] Perhaps he had in
 gil, Æn. IX. 528.

um ingentes oras evolvite
 i. *Jertiu.*

It has been observ'd to me by a
 person of very fine taste, that
 Shakespear has an expression very
 like this in 2 Hen. IV. Act I.

You knew, he walk'd o'er perils,
 on an edge
 More likely to fall in, than to get
 o'er:

and something like it in 1 Hen. IV.
 Act I.

I'll read you matter, deep and dan-
 gerous;

As full of peril and adventurous
 spirit,

As to o'erwalk a current, roaring
 loud,

On the unstedfast footing of a spear.

Hot. If he fall in, good night,
 or sink or swim.

Or

New courage and revive, though now they lie
 Groveling and prostrate on yon lake of fire, 286
 As we ere while, astounded and amaz'd,
 No wonder, fall'n such a pernicious highth.

He scarce had ceas'd when the superior Fiend
 Was moving tow'ard the shore; his pond'rous shield,
 Ethereal temper, massy, large and round, 285
 Behind him cast; the broad circumference
 Hung on his shoulders like the moon, whose orb
 Through optic glass the Tuscan artist views

At

Or after all may not *the edge of bat-
 tel* be expres'd from the Latin *acies*,
 which signifies both the edge of a
 weapon, and also an army in battel
 array? The author himself would
 incline one to think so by his use
 of this metaphor in another place,
 VI. 108.

On the rough edge of battel ere it
 join'd.

282. — *fall'n such a pernicious
 highth.*] Dr. Bentley reads
fall'n from *such* prodigious *highth*:
 but the epithet *pernicious* is much
 stronger, and as for the want of a
 præposition, that is common in this
 poem; for thus in I. 723.

Stood fix'd her stately highth,
 And in II. 409.

— ere he arrive
 The happy ile?

Pearce.

287. — *like the moon, whose
 orb &c.*] Homer compares
 the splendor of Achilles shield to
 the moon, Iliad. XIX. 373.

— αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ τὰ σάκος μὲν
 τε, σιβάρην τε,

εἶλετο, τὸ δ' ἀπ' ἀνευθε σιλας γυ-
 νετ', οὐτε μῆνης.

but the shield of Satan was large as
 the moon seen through a telescope,
 an instrument first applied to cele-
 stial observations by Galileo, a na-
 tive of Tuscany, whom he means
 here by *the Tuscan artist*, and after-
 wards mentions by name in V. 262.
 a testimony of his honor for so
 great a man, whom he had known
 and visited in Italy, as himself in-
 forms us in his *Arcopagica*.

289. Fells,

At evening from the top of Fesolé,
 Or in Valdarno, to descry new lands,
 Rivers or mountains in her spotty globe.
 His spear, to equal which the tallest pine
 Hewn on Norwegian hills, to be the mast
 Of some great ammiral, were but a wand,
 He walk'd with to support uneasy steps 299
 Over the burning marle, not like those steps
 On Heaven's azure, and the torrid clime
 Smote on him fore besides, vaulted with fire :

Nath-

289. *Fesolé*.] Is a city in Tuscany; *Valdarno*, or the valley of Arno, a valley there. *Richardson*.

292. *His spear, to equal which the tallest pine &c.*] He walk'd with his spear, in comparison of which the tallest pine was but a wand. For when Homer *Odyss. IX. 322.* makes the club of Polyphemus as big as the mast of a ship,

Όσσον δ' ἴστω ἄσπετον

and Virgil gives him a pine to walk with, *Æn. III. 659.*

Trunca manu pinus regit et vestigia firmat.

and Tasso arms Tancred and Argantes with two spears as big as masts, *Cant. 6. St. 40.*

Posero in resta, e dirizzaro in alto
 J duo guerrier le poderose antenne,

These sons of Mavors bore (instead of spears)

Two knotty masts which none but they could lift. *Fairfax.*

well might Milton assign a spear so much larger to so superior a being,

293. *Norwegian hills*.] The hills of Norway, barren and rocky, but abounding in vast woods, from whence are brought masts of the largest size. *Hume.*

294. — *ammiral*] According to its German extraction *amiral* or *amirael*, says *Hume*; from the Italian *ammiraglio*, says *Richardson* more probably. Our author made choice of this, as thinking it of a better sound than *admiral*: and in Latin he writes *ammiralatus curia*, the court of admiralty.

299. Nath-

Nathless he so indur'd, till on the beach
 Of that inflamed sea he stood, and call'd 300
 His legions, Angel forms, who lay intranc'd
 Thick as autumnal leaves that strow the brooks
 In Vallombrosa, where th' Etrurian shades
 High over-arch'd imbow'r; or scatter'd sedge
 Aflote, when with fierce winds Orion arm'd 305
 Hath

299. *Nathless*] Nevertheless, of which it seems to be a contracted diminutive. *Hume.*

This word is frequently used by Spenser, and the old poets.

302. *Thick as autumnal leaves*] Virg. *Æn.* VI. 309.

Quam multa in sylvis autumnum frige primo
 Lapſa cadunt folia.

Thick as the leaves in autumn strow the woods. Dryden.

But Milton's comparison is by far the exactest; for it not only expresses a multitude, but also the posture and situation of the Angels. Their lying confusedly in heaps, covering the lake, is finely represented by this image of the leaves in the brooks. And besides the propriety of the application, if we compare the similes themselves, Milton's is by far superior to the other, as it exhibits a real landscape. See *An Essay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*, p. 23.

303. *Vallombrosa*] A famous valley in *Etruria* or Tuscany, so

named of *Vallis* and *Umbra*, remarkable for the continual cool shades, which the vast number of trees that overspread it afford.

Hume.
 305. — *when with fierce winds Orion arm'd &c.*] *Orion* is a constellation represented in the figure of an armed man, and supposed to be attended with stormy weather, *assurgens fluctu nimborum Orion*. Virg. *Æn.* I. 539. And the Red-Sea abounds so much with sedge, that in the Hebrew Scripture it is called the *Sedge Sea*. And he says *batb vex'd the Red-Sea coast* particularly, because the wind usually drives the sedge in great quantities towards the shore.

306. — *whose waves o'erbrow Buziris and his Memphian chieftain,*] Dr. Bentley throws out six lines here, as the Editor's, not Milton's: His chief reason is, That that single event of Moses's passing the Red-Sea has no relation to a constant quality of it, that in stormy weather it is strow'd with sedge. But it is very usual with Homer and Virgil

Hath vex'd the Red-Sea coast, whose waves o'erthrew
 Buziris and his Memphian chivalry,
 While with perfidious hatred they pursued
 The sojourners of Goshen, who beheld
 From the safe shore their floating carcases 310
 And broken chariot wheels: so thick bestrown
 Abject and lost lay these, covering the flood,

Under

Virgil (and therefore may be allow'd to Milton) in a comparison, after they have shown the resemblance, to go off from the main purpose and finish with some other image, which was occasion'd by the comparison, but is itself very different from it. Milton has done thus in almost all his similitudes; and therefore what he does so frequently, cannot be allow'd to be an objection to the genuineness of this passage before us. As to Milton's making Pharaoh to be *Buziris* (which is another of the Doctor's objections to the passage) there is authority enough for to justify a poet in doing so, tho' not an historian: It has been suppos'd by some, and therefore Milton might follow that opinion. *Cbiualry* for *cavalry*, and *cavalry* (says Dr. Bentley) for *chariosty*, is twice wrong. But it is rather *twice right*: for *cbiualry* (from the French *chevalerie*) signifies not only *knightbood*, but those who use horses in fight, both such as ride on horses and such as ride in chariots drawn by them:

In the sense of riding and fighting on horseback this word *cbiualry* is used in ver. 765. and in many places of Fairfax's *Tasso*, as in Cant. 5. St. 9. Cant 8. St. 67. Cant. 20. St. 61. In the sense of riding and fighting in chariots drawn by horses, Milton uses the word *cbiualry* in *Parad. Reg. III. ver. 343.* compar'd with ver. 328. *Pearce.* 308. — *perfidious hatred*] Because Pharaoh, after leave given to the Israelites to depart, follow'd after them like fugitives. *Hans.*

310. *From the safe shore their floating carcases &c.*] Much has been said of the long similitudes of Homer, Virgil, and our author, wherein they fetch a compass as it were to draw in new images, besides those in which the direct point of likeness consists. I think they have been sufficiently justify'd in the general: but in this before us, while the poet is digressing, he raises a new similitude from the floating carcases of the Egyptians. *Haylin.*

Under amazement of their hideous change:
 He call'd so loud, that all the hollow deep
 Of Hell resounded. Princes, Potentates,
 Warriors, the flow'r of Heav'n, once yours, now lost,
 If such astonishment as this can seize
 Eternal Spi'rits; or have ye chos'n this place
 After the toil of battel to repose
 Your wearied virtue, for the ease you find
 To slumber here, as in the vales of Heaven?
 Or in this abject posture have ye sworn
 To' adore the conqueror? who now beholds
 Cherub and Seraph rolling in the flood
 With scatter'd arms and ensigs, till anon
 His swift pursuers from Heav'n gates discern
 Th' advantage, and descending tread us down
 Thus drooping; or with linked thunderbolts
 Transfix us to the bottom of this gulf,
 Awake, arise, or be for ever fall'n.

320

325

330

They heard, and were abash'd, and up they sprung
 Upon

328. — *with linked thunderbolts*
Transfix us to the bottom of this
gulf.] This alludes to the
fate of Ajax Oileus,

Turbine corripuit, scopuloque in-
 fixit acuto.
 Virg. Æn. I. 44, 45

Illum expirantem transfixo pectore
 flammis

Who pleaseth to read the Devil's
 speech to his damned assembly in
 Tasso, Cant. 4. from Stanza 9.
 Stanza

on the wing, as when Men went to watch
 duty, sleeping found by whom they dread,
 use and bestir themselves ere well awake.
 or did they not perceive the evil plight 335
 which they were, or the fierce pains not feel;
 t to their general's voice they soon obey'd
 numberable. As when the potent rod
 Amram's son, in Egypt's evil day,
 av'd round the coast, up call'd a pitchy cloud 340
 locusts, warping on the eastern wind,
 at o'er the realm of impious Pharaoh hung
 ce night, and darken'd all the land of Nile:
 numberless were those bad Angels seen
 vering on wing under the cope of Hell 345
 wixt upper, nether, and surrounding fires;
 l, as a signal giv'n, th' up-lifted spear
 their great Sultan waving to direct
 air course, in even balance down they light
 the firm brimstone, and fill all the plain; 350
 A

1218, will find our author has *upon the land, and the east-wind*
 him, tho' borrow'd little of *brought the locusts: and the locusts*
Hume. went up over all the land of Egypt—
 1. *As when the potent rod &c.] so that the land was darken'd.*
 Exod. X. 13. *Moses stretched* 341.—*warping]* Working them-
his rod over the land of Egypt, selves forward, a sea term.
the Lord brought an east-wind *Hume and Richardson.*
 L. I. M 351. A

A multitude, like which the populous north
 Pour'd never from her frozen loins, to pass
 Rhene or the Danaw, when her barbarous sons
 Came like a deluge on the south, and spread
 Beneath Gibraltar to the Lybian sands. 355

Forthwith from every squadron and each band
 The heads and leaders thither haste where stood
 Their great commander; Godlike shapes and forms
 Excelling human, princely Dignities,
 And Pow'rs that erst in Heaven sat on thrones; 360
 Though of their names in heav'nly records now

Be
 354. *A multitude, like which &c.*] count of the coldness of the cli-

No memorial, blotted out and ras'd
 Thy rebellion from the books of life.
 For had they yet among the sons of Eve 364
 Not them new names, till wand'ring o'er the earth,
 Through God's high sufferance for the trial of man;
 By falsities and lies the greatest part
 Of mankind they corrupted to forsake
 Their Creator, and th' invisible
 Glory of him that made them to transform 370
 To the image of a brute, adorn'd
 With gay religions full of pomp and gold,

And

and Vandals, who overrun all the
 northern provinces of Europe, and
 roving the Mediterranean beneath
 Gibraltar landed in Africa, and
 went themselves as far as the
 only country of Libya. Beneath Gi-
 braltar that is more southward, the
 both being uppermost in the globe.
 363.—the books of life.] Dr. Bent-
 ley reads the book of life, that being
 the Scripture expression. And
 Wakefield says likewise blotted
 out the book of life, Richard II.
 181.

My name be blotted from the
 book of life.

But the author might write books in
 the plural as well as records just
 before; and the plural agrees bet-
 ter with the idea that he would give
 of the great number of Angels.

367. By falsities and lies.] That

is, as Mr. Upton observes, by false
 idols, under a corporeal represen-
 tation, being the true God. The
 poet plainly alludes to Rom. I. 22,
 &c. *When they knew God, they glo-
 rified him not as God — and changed
 the glory of the uncorruptible God
 into an image — who changed the
 truth of God into a lie. So Amos
 II. 4. Their lies caused them to err.
 Jerem. XVI. 19. Surely our fathers
 have inherited lies &c.*

369. — and th' invisible
 Glory of him that made them to
 transform

[Of to the image of a brute,] Al-
 luding to Rom. I. 23. *And changed
 the glory of the uncorruptible God,
 into an image made like to corruptible
 man, and to birds, and four-footed
 beasts, and creeping things.*

372. With gay religions full of
 pomp and gold,] By religions

And Devils to adore for Deities :

Then were they known to men by various names,
And various idols through the Heathen world. 375

Say, Muse, their names then known, who first, who last,
Rous'd from the slumber, on that fiery couch,
At their great empe'ror's call, as next in worth
Came singly where he stood on the bare strand,
While the promiscuous croud stood yet aloof. 380

The chief were those who from the pit of Hell
Roaming to seek their prey on earth, durst fix

Their

Milton means *religious rites*, as Cicero uses the word, when he joins *religiones et ceremonias*. De Legib. lib. 1. c. 15. and elsewhere.

Pearce.

376. *Say, Muse, &c.*] The catalogue of evil Spirits has abundance of learning in it, and a very agreeable turn of poetry, which rises in a great measure from its describing the places where they were worshipped, by those beautiful marks of rivers, so frequent among the ancient poets. The author had doubtless in this place Homer's catalogue of ships, and Virgil's list of warriors in his view.

Addison.

Dr. Bentley says that this is not the finest part of the poem: but I think it is, in the design and drawing, if not in the coloring; for the Paradise Lost being a religious epic, nothing could be more artful than thus deducing the original of

superstition. This gives it a great advantage over the catalogues he has imitated, for Milton's becomes thereby a necessary part of the work, as the original of superstition, an essential part of a religious epic, could not have been shown without it. Had Virgil's or Homer's been omitted, their poems would not have suffered materially, because in their relations of the following actions we find the soldiers, who were before catalogued: but by no following history of superstition that Milton could have brought in, could we find out these Devils agency, it was therefore necessary he should inform us of the fact.

Warburton.

Say, Muse, &c. Homer at the beginning of his catalogue invokes his Muse afresh in a very pompous manner. Virgil does the like, and Milton follows both so far as to make a fresh invocation, though short;

their seats long after next the seat of God,
 their altars by his altar, Gods ador'd
 among the nations round, and durst abide 385
 howah thund'ring out of Sion, thron'd
 between the Cherubim; yea, often plac'd
 within his sanctuary itself their shrines,
 abominations; and with curst things
 his holy rites and solemn feasts profan'd, 390
 and with their darkness durst affront his light.
 First Moloch, horrid king, besmear'd with blood

Of

first; because he had already made
 a large and solemn address in this
 my book, at the beginning of his
 sin.

376. — *their names then known,*
 when they had got them new
 names. Milton finely consider'd
 the names he [was obliged to
 apply to these evil Angels carry a
 double signification, and therefore
 could not be those they had in their
 state of innocence and glory; he
 therefore said their former
 names are now lost, ras'd from
 amongst those of their old asso-
 ciates who retain their purity and
 propriety. *Richardson.*

376. — *who first, who last,*]

Quem telo primum, quem postre-
 mum &c. Virg. Æn. XI. 664.

386. — *thron'd
 Between the Cherubim;*] This re-
 fers to the ark being placed be-
 tween the two golden Cherubim,

1 Kings VI. 23. 1 Kings VIII. 6
 and 7. See also 2 Kings XIX. 15.
*O Lord God of Israel which dwellest
 between the Cherubim. Hezekiah's
 prayer. Hume.*

387. — *yea, often plac'd
 Within his sanctuary itself their
 shrines,*

Abominations;] This is com-
 plain'd of by the prophet Jere-
 miah VII. 30. *For the children of
 Judah have done evil in my sight,
 saith the Lord; they have set their
 abominations in the house which is
 called by my name, to pollute it.*
 And we read of Manasseh, 2 Kings
 XXI. 4 and 5. that *He built altars
 in the house of the Lord, of which
 the Lord said, In Jerusalem will I
 put my name: And he built altars for
 all the host of Heaven, in the two
 courts of the house of the Lord. See
 also Ezek. VII. 20. and VIII. 5, 6.*

392. *First Moloch, horrid king.]
 First after Satan and Beëlzebub.*

Of human sacrifice, and parents tears,
 Though for the noise of drums and timbrels loud
 Their childrens cries unheard, that pass'd through sin
 To his grim idol. Him the Ammonite 396
 Worshipt in Rabba and her watry plain,
 In Argob and in Basan, to the stream
 Of utmost Arnon. Nor content with such

Audacious

The name *Moloch* signifies *king*, and he is call'd *horrid king*, because of the human sacrifices which were made to him. This idol is supposed by some to be the same as Saturn, to whom the Heathens sacrificed their children, and by others to be the Sun. It is said in Scrip-
Ammon, 1 Kings XI. 7. and was worshipped in *Rabba*, the capital city of the Ammonites, which David conquer'd, and took from thence the crown of their God *Milcom* as some render the word 2 Sam. XII. 30. and this *Rabba* being called *the city of water*

Audacious neighbourhoed, the wisest heart 400
 Of Solomon he led by fraud to build
 His temple right against the temple' of God
 On that opprobrious hill, and made his grove
 The pleasant valley' of Hinnom, Tophet thence
 And black Gehenna call'd, the type of Hell. 403
 Next Chemos, th' obscene dread of Moab's sons,

From

New Testament, and by our Saviour himself made the name and type of Hell, by reason of the fire that was kept up there to Moloch, and of the horrid groans and outcries of human sacrifices. We might insert much more upon each of these idola, and produce a heap of learned authorities and quotations; but we endeavor to be as short as we can, and say no more than may serve as a sufficient commentary to explain and illustrate our author.

406. Next Chemos, &c.] He is rightly mention'd next after Moloch, as their names are join'd together in Scripture: Kings XI. 7. and it was a natural transition from the God of the Ammonites to the God of their neighbours the Moabites. St. Jerom and several learned men assert Chemos and Baal Peor to be only different names for the same idol, and suppose him to be the same with Priapus or the idol of turpitude, and therefore called here th' obscene dread of Moab's sons, from Aroar, a city upon the river Arnon, the bound-

dary of their country to the north, afterwards belonging to the tribe of Gad, so Nebo, a city eastward, afterwards belonging to the tribe of Reuben, and the wild of southmost Abarim, a ridge of mountains the boundary of their country to the south; in Hefibon or Heshbon, and Horonaim, Seon's realm, two cities of the Moabites, taken from them by Sihon king of the Amorites, Numb. XXI. 26. beyond the flow'ry dale of Sibma clad with vines, a place famous for vineyards, as appears from Jer. XLVIII. 32. O vine of Sibmah I will weep for thee, and Eleale, another city of the Moabites not far from Heshbon, so th' Asphaltic pool, the Dead Sea so call'd from the Asphaltus or bitumen abounding in it; the river Jordan empties itself into it, and that river and this sea were the boundary of the Moabites to the west. It was this God under the name of Baal Peor, that the Israelites were induced to worship in Sittim, and committed whoredom with the daughters of Moab, for which there died of the plague

From Aroar to Nebo, and the wild
Of southmost Abarim; in Hesebon
And Horonaim, Seon's realm, beyond
The flow'ry dale of Sibma clad with vines,
And Eleälé to th' Asphaltic pool,
Peor his other name, when he entic'd
Israel in Sittim on their march from Nile
To do him wanton rites, which cost them woe.
Yet thence his lustful orgies he enlarg'd
Ev'n to that hill of scandal, by the grove

Of
twenty and four thousand, as we a fine moral sentiment has our ap-
peal to Noah, XVII. His high that has intend'd and

Of Moloch homicide; lust hard by hate;
 Till good Josiah drove them thence to Hell.
 With these came they, who from the bord'ring flood
 Of old Euphrates to the brook that parts
 Egypt from Syrian ground, had general names
 Of Baälim and Ashtaroth, those male,
 These feminine. For Spirits when they please
 Can either sex assume, or both; so soft
 And uncompounded is their essence pure,
 Not ty'd or manacled with joint or limb,

Nor

her boughs into the sea, and her branches into the river, that is from the Mediterranean to the river Euphrates: to the brook that parts Egypt from Syrian ground, most probably the brook Befor mention'd in Scripture, near Rhinocolura, which city is assign'd sometimes to Syria and sometimes to Egypt.

422. *Baälim and Ashtaroth,*] These are properly named together, as they frequently are in Scripture; and there were many *Baälim* and many *Ashtaroth*; they were the general names of the Gods and Goddesses of Syria, Palestine, and the neighbouring countries. It is supposed that by them is meant the sun and the host of Heaven.

423. *For Spirits when they please &c.*] These notions about Spirits seem to have been borrow'd from Michael Pfellus his dialogue

about the operation of Demons, where a story is related of a Demon's appearing in the shape of a woman; and upon this a doubt is rais'd whether some Demons are males, and others females; and it is asserted that they can assume either sex, and take what shape and color they please, and contract or dilate themselves at pleasure, as they are of an æry nature. *Διὸ καὶ πρὸς τὸ γινῆσθαι αὐτῶν, τότε σωματικῶς ἢ ἀν' αἰετοζῴημα μετακτιπύσασθαι, καὶ χροματικῶς τινῶν εἶδος ἢ πρὸς τὸ τὸ σωματικῶς ἐξενίχθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ποτε μὲν ὡς ἀνθρώπων φανίσσεται, ποτε δὲ πρὸς γυναικῶν μεταβάλλει μορφῶν &c.* See *Μιχαὴλ τοῦ Πέλλου περὶ ἐνεργουμένων δαιμονίων διάλογος*. p. 70.—77. Edit. Lutet. Paris. 1615. Such an extraordinary scholar was Milton, and such use he made of all sorts of authors.

Nor founded on the brittle strength of bones,
 Like cumbrous flesh; but in what shape they choose
 Dilated or condens'd, bright or obscure,
 Can execute their aery purposes, 430
 And works of love or enmity fulfil.
 For those the race of Israel oft forsook
 Their living strength, and unfrequented left
 His righteous altar, bowing lowly down
 To bestial Gods; for which their heads as low 435
 Bow'd down in battel, sunk before the spear

Of

437. *With these in troop &c.*] *Astarte* or *Astarte* was the Goddess of the *Phœnicians*, and the moon was adored under this name. She is rightly said to come in troop with *Astharoth*, as she was one of them, the moon with the stars. Sometimes she is called *queen of Heaven*, Jer. VII. 18. and XLIV. 17, 18. She is likewise called *the Goddess of the Zidonians*, 1 Kings XI. 5. and *the abomination of the Zidonians*, 2 Kings XXIII. 13. as she was worshipped very much in *Zidon* or *Sidon*, a famous city of the *Phœnicians*, situated upon the *Mediterranean*. Solomon, who had many wives that were foreigners, was prevail'd upon by them to introduce the worship of this Goddess into Israel, 1 Kings XI. 5. and built her temple on the mount of *Olives*, which on account of this and other idols is called *the*

mountain of corruption, 2 Kings XXIII. 13. as here by the poet *th' offensive mountain*, and before *that opprobrious hill*, and *that hill of scandal*.

446. *Thammuz came next &c.*] The account of *Thammuz*, is finely romantic, and suitable to what we read among the Ancients of the worship which was paid to that idol. The reader will pardon me, if I insert as a note on this beautiful passage, the account given us by the late ingenious Mr. Maudrel of this ancient piece of worship, and probably the first occasion of such a superstition. "We came to a fair large river — "doubtless the ancient river *Adonis*, so famous for the idolatrous rites performed here in lamentation of *Adonis*. We had the fortune to see what may be supposed to be the occasion of that opinion

despicable foes. With these in troop
 ne Astoreth, whom the Phœnicians call'd
 arte, queen of Heav'n, with crescent horns;
 whose bright image nightly by the moon 440
 onian virgins paid their vows and songs,
 Sion also not unsung, where stood
 r temple on th' offensive mountain, built
 that uxorious king, whose heart though large,
 guil'd by fair idolatresses, fell. 445
 idols foul. Thammuz came next behind,

Whose

opinion which Lucian relates, viz. that this stream at certain seasons of the year, especially about the feast of Adonis, is of a bloody color; which the Heathens looked upon as proceeding from a kind of sympathy in the river for the death of Adonis, who was kill'd by a wild boar in the mountains, out of which its stream rises. Something like this we saw actually come to pass; for the water was stain'd with a surprising redness; and as we observed in travelling, had discolor'd the sea a great way into a reddish hue, occasion'd doubtless by a sort of minium or red earth, wash'd into the river by the violence of the rain, and not by any stain from Adonis's blood." *Adonis.*
 Thammuz was the God of the Syrians, the same with Adonis, who

according to the traditions died every year and reviv'd again. He was slain by a wild boar in mount Libanus, from whence the river Adonis descends: and when this river began to be of a reddish hue, as it did at a certain season of the year, this was their signal for celebrating their Adonia or feasts of Adonis, and the women made loud lamentations for him, supposing the river was discolor'd with his blood. The like idolatrous rites were transferred to Jerusalem, where Ezekiel saw the women lamenting *Tammuz*, Ezek. VIII. 13, 14. *He said also unto me, Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations that they do. Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the Lord's house, which was towards the north, and behold there sat women weeping for Tammuz.* Dr. Pemberton in his Observations

Whose annual wound in Lebanon allur'd
 The Syrian damsels to lament his fate
 In amorous ditties all a summer's day,
 While smooth Adonis from his native rock 450
 Ran purple to the sea, suppos'd with blood
 Of Thammuz yearly wounded: the love-tale
 Infected Sion's daughters with like heat,
 Whose wanton passions in the sacred porch
 Ezekiel saw, when by the vision led 455
 His eye survey'd the dark idolatries
 Of alienated Judah. Next came one

Who

servations upon poetry quotes some
 of these verses upon *Thammuz* as
 distinguishably melodious; and they
 are observed to be not unlike those
 beautiful lines in *Shakespeare's* *Htn.*
IV. Act III. and particularly in the
 sweetness of the numbers;

As sweet as ditties highly penn'd,
 Sung by a fair queen in a sum-
 mer's bower,
 With ravishing division to her
 lute.

457. ——— Next came one
Who mourn'd in earnest, &c.] The
 lamentations for Adonis were with-
 out reason, but there was real oc-
 casion for *Dagon's* mourning, when
 the ark of God was taken by the
 Philistines, and being placed in the
 temple of *Dagon*, the next morn-
 ing behold *Dagon* was fallen upon

*his face to the ground before the ark
 of the Lord; and the head of Dagon
 and both the palms of his hands were
 cut off upon the threshold (upon the
 grunsel or groundfil edge, as Milton
 expresses it, on the edge of the
 footpost of his temple gate) only the
 stump of Dagon was left to him as
 we read 1 Sam. V. 4. Learned
 men are by no means agreed in
 their accounts of this idol. Some
 derive the name from *Dagan* which
 signifies corn, as if he was the in-
 ventor of it; others from *Dag*,
 which signifies a fish, and represent
 him accordingly with the upper
 part of a man, and the lower part
 of a fish. Our author follows the
 latter opinion, which is that com-
 monly receiv'd, and has besides the
 authority of the learned *Selden*.
 This *Dagon* is called in Scripture*

Who mourn'd in earnest, when the captive ark
 Maim'd his brute image, head and hands lopt off
 In his own temple, on the grunsel edge,
 Where he fell flat, and sham'd his worshippers:
 Dagon his name, sea monster, upward man
 And downward fish: yet had his temple high
 Rear'd in Azotus, dreaded through the coast
 Of Palestine, in Gath and Ascalon,
 And Accaron and Gaza's frontier bounds.
 Him follow'd Rimmon, whose delightful feat
 Was fair Damascus, on the fertile banks

Of

the God of the Philistines, and was worshipped in the five principal cities of the Philistines, mention'd 2 Sam. VI. 17. *Azotus* or *Asdod* where he had a temple as we read in 1 Sam. V. *Gath*, and *Ascalon*, and *Accaron*, or *Ekron*, and *Gaza* where they had sacrifices and feastings in honor of him. *Judg. XVI. Gaza's frontier bounds*, says the poet, as it was the southern extremity of the promis'd land toward Egypt. It is mention'd by Moses as the southern point of the land of Canaan. Gen. X. 19.

467. *Him follow'd Rimmon; &c.* *Rimmon* was a God of the Syrians, but it is not certain what he was, or why so call'd. We only know that he had a temple at *Damascus*, 2 Kings V. 18. the most celebrated city of Syria, on the banks of *Ab-*

bana and *Pharpar*, rivers of *Damascus*; as they are call'd 2 Kings V. 12. *A leper once he left*; *Naaman* the Syrian who was cur'd of his leprosy by *Elisha*, and who for that reason resolv'd thenceforth to offer neither burnt-offering nor sacrifice to any other God, but unto the Lord, 2 Kings V. 17. *And gain'd a king*, *Abaz* his foolish conqueror, who with the assistance of the king of *Assyria* having taken *Damascus*, saw there an altar, and sent a pattern of it to *Jerusalem* to have another made by it, directly contrary to the command of God, who had appointed what kind of altar he would have (*Exod. XXVII. 1, 2, &c.*) and had order'd that no other should be made of any matter or figure whatsoever. *Abaz* however upon his return remov'd the altar of

Of Abbana and Pharphar, lucid streams.
 He also' against the house of God was bold: 470
 A leper once he lost, and gain'd a king,
 Ahaz his sottish conqu'ror, whom he drew
 God's altar to disparage and displace
 For one of Syrian mode, whereon to burn
 His odious offerings, and adore the Gods 475
 Whom he had vanquish'd. After these appear'd
 A crew who under names of old renown,
 Osiris, Isis, Orus, and their train,

With

of the Lord from its place, and set up this new altar in its stead, and offer'd thereon, 2 Kings XVI. 10. &c. and thenceforth gave himself up to idolatry, and instead of the God of Israel he sacrific'd unto the Gods of Damascus, 2 Chron. XXVIII. 23. whom he had subdued.

478. *Osiris, Isis, Orus, and their train, &c.*] *Osiris* and *Isis* were the principal deities of the Egyptians, by which it is most probable they originally meant the sun and moon. *Orus* was the son of *Osiris* and *Isis*, frequently confounded with *Apollo*: and these and the other Gods of the Egyptians were worshipped in monstrous shapes, bulls, cats, dogs, &c. and the reason alleged for this monstrous worship is deriv'd from an fabulous tradition, that when he invaded Heaven, the gods were so affrighted that they

fled into Egypt, and there concealed themselves in the shapes of various animals; and the Egyptians afterwards out of gratitude worshipp'd the creatures, whose shapes the Gods had assum'd. *Ovid Met. V. 319.* &c. where is an account of their transformations: and therefore Milton here calls them

Their wand'ring Gods disguis'd in brutish forms Rather than human.

482. — *Nor did Israel 'scape Th' infection, &c.*] The Israelites by dwelling so long in Egypt were infected with the superstitions of the Egyptians, and in all probability made the golden calf, or as (for so it is differently call'd, *Psalm CVI. 19, 20.*) in imitation of that which represented *Osiris*, and out of the golden earrings, which it is most likely they borrow'd of the Egyptian,

Egyptian,

nonstrous shapes and sorceries abus'd
 : Egypt and her priests, to seek 480
 vand'ring Gods disguis'd in brutish forms
 than human. Nor did Israel 'scape
 ection, when their borrow'd gold compos'd
 elf in Oreb; and the rebel king
 ed that sin in Bethel and in Dan, 485
 ng his Maker to the grazed ox,
 h, who in one night when he pass'd
 Egypt marching, equal'd with one stroke

Both

s, Exod. XII. 35. *The that eateth grass: Jehovah, when in
 dreb, and so the Psalmist, one night when he pass'd from Egypt
 de a calf in Horeb, Psa. marching, for the children of Israel
). while Moses was upon not only pass'd from Egypt, but
 at with God. And the rebel march'd in a warlike manner, and
 oboam made king by the the Lord brought them out, the
 who rebelled against Re- Lord went before them: equal'd
 1 Kings XII. doubled that with one stroke both her feet-been
 taking two golden calves, and all her bleating voice, for the
 in imitation of the Egyp- Lord slew all the fish-people in the
 h whom he had converted, land of Egypt with man and beast,
 l a couple of oxen which and upon their feet: and the Lord
 shipped, one called Apis, exercised compassion. Hence the
 phis the metropolis of the Name XXXIII. a and of the
 gypt, and the other Memfis means of their feet: a great
 upolis the chief city of the the he is, showing that the
 gypt: and he set them up calves, both being the strength
 d and in Dan, the two ex- from Egypt, and being a firm
 s of the kingdom of Israel. ness of any form of man. For the
 ner in the south, the latter they have received that they may
 orth. Likening his Maker to the ox, with the Lord, and
 ned ox, alluding to Psa. when a firm setting of them
 o. Thus they changed their Dr. Bezae explains the text
 into the similitude of an ox the Hebrew with-out a word*

Both her first-born and all her bleating Gods.
 Belial came last, than whom a Spi'rit more lewd 490
 Fell not from Heaven, or more gross to love
 Vice for itself: to him no temple stood
 Or altar smok'd; yet who more oft than he
 In temples and at altars, when the priest
 Turns atheist, as did Eli's sons, who fill'd 495
 With lust and violence the house of God?

In

ram, hence *corniger Ammon*? Clemens Alexandrinus tells us that the people of Sais and Thebes worshipped sheep; and R. Jarchi upon Gen. XLVI. 34. says that a shepherd was therefore an abomination to the Egyptians, because the Egyptians worshipped sheep as Gods. We may farther add, that Onkelos, Jonathan, and several others are of the same opinion, and say that shepherds were an abomination to the Egyptians, because they had no greater regard to those creatures which the Egyptians worshipped, than to breed them up to be eaten. These authorities are sufficient to justify our poet for calling them *bleating Gods*; he might make use of that epithet as one of the most insignificant and contemptible, with the same air of disdain as Virgil says *Æn. VIII. 698.*

Omnigenâmq; deûm monstra &
lâtrator Anubis;
 and so returns to his subject, and

ends the passage as he began it with the Gods of Egypt.

490. *Belial came last, &c.*] The characters of *Moloch* and *Belial* prepare the reader's mind for their respective speeches and behavior in the second and sixth book.

Addis.

And they are very properly made, one the first, and the other the last, in this catalogue, as they both make so great a figure afterwards in the poem. *Moloch* the first, as he was the fiercest Spirit that fought in Heaven, II. 44. and *Belial* the last, as he is represented as the most *immorous and slothful*, II. 117. It doth not appear that he was ever worshipped; but lewd profligate fellows, such as regard neither God nor Man, are called in Scripture *the children of Belial*, Deut. XIII. 13. So the sons of Eli are call'd 1 Sam. II. 12. *Now the sons of Eli were sons of Belial, they knew not the Lord.* So the men of Gibeon, who abus'd the Levite's wife, Judg. XIX.

courts and palaces he also reigns
 in luxurious cities, where the noise
 of not ascends above their loftiest towers,
 injury and outrage: And when night
 reins the streets, then wander forth the sons
 of Belial, flown with insolence and wine,
 through the streets of Sodom, and that night
 at Gibeah, when the hospitable door

Expos'd

are called likewise sons of
 ; which are the particular in-
 here given by our author.
 I have heard a copy
 of some body proposing to
 instead of *flown*, blown
 insolence and wine, as these
Margil inflatus iaccho, Ecl.
ut hofarns venas, at temper
 I conceive is a participle
 the verb *fly*, and the meaning
 they were raised and high-
 by insolence and wine, in-
 and wine made them *fly out*
 these extravagances. Or as
 think, it may be a parti-
 from the verb *flown*, as *over-*
 is sometimes used for *over-*
 And the meaning is the
 is *flown* with insolence and
 An expression very common
 the verb *flown*. In the same
 we use *flown* with success, as
 eyes of eyes

504 when the hospitable door
 Expos'd a matron to avoid worse
 rape. So Milton caus'd it
 to be printed in the second edition;
 the first ran thus,

when hospitable doors
 yielded their matrons to prevent
 worse rape.

And Milton did well in altering the
 passage: for it was not true of *Sod-*
dom, that any matron was yielded
 there; the women had not known
 man, Gen. XIX. 8. and as they were
 only offer'd not accepted, it is not
 proper to say that they were yielded.
 But observe that Milton in the sec-
 ond edition changed yielded into
 expos'd, because in what was done
 at Gibeah, Judg. XIX. 25. the
 Levite's wife was not only yielded,
 but put out of doors and expos'd
 to the mens Jewdnels. Why then
 does Dr. Bentley prefer Milton's
 first reading to his second, when he
 alter'd the passage to make it more
 agreeable to the Scriptural story?

Pearce
 506. These

Expos'd a matron to avoid worse rape. 503
These were the prime in order and in might ;
The rest were long to tell, though far renown'd,
Th' Ionian Gods, of Javan's issue held
Gods, yet confess'd later than Heav'n and Earth,
Their boasted parents: Titan Heav'n's first-born, 510
With his enormous brood, and birthright seiz'd
By younger Saturn; he from mightier Jove
His own and Rhea's son like measure found;
So Jove usurping reign'd: these first in Crete
And Ida known, thence on the snowy top 515

Of cold Olympus rul'd the middle air,
 Their highest Heav'n; or on the Delphian cliff,
 Or in Dodona, and through all the bounds
 Of Doric land; or who with Saturn old
 Fled over Adria to th' Hesperian fields, 520
 And o'er the Celtic roam'd the utmost isles.

All these and more came flocking; but with looks
 Down cast and damp, yet such wherein appear'd
 Obscure some glimpse of joy, to' have found their chief
 Not in despair, to' have found themselves not lost 525
 In loss itself; which on his count'nance cast

Like

Noah, is supposed to have settled in the south-west part of Asia Minor, about *Ionis*, which contains the radical letters of his name. His descendants were the *Ionians* and *Ireccians*; and the principal of their Gods were Heaven and Earth; *Itan* was their eldest son, he was the father of the giants, and his empire was seized by his younger brother *Saturn*, as Saturn's was by *Jupiter* son of Saturn and *Rhea*. These first were known in the island *Crete*, now *Candia*, in which is the mount *Ida*, where Jupiter is said to have been born; thence passed over into Greece, and resided on the mount *Olympus* in Thessaly; the rocky top of cold Olympus, as Homer calls it, ΟΛΥΜΠΟΣ ΑΓΓΑΝΙΦΟΡΟΣ, *Iad.* I. 420. and XVIII. 615. Οὐλύμπου βουνός, which mountain af-

terwards became the name of Heaven among their worshippers; or on the Delphian cliff, *Parnassus*, whereon was seated the city *Delphi* famous for the temple and oracle of *Apollo*; or in *Dodona*, a city and wood adjoining sacred to *Jupiter*; and through all the bounds of *Doric land*, that is of Greece, *Doris* being a part of Greece; or fled over *Adria*, the *Adriatic*, to th' *Hesperian fields*, to *Italy*; and o'er the *Celtic*, France and the other countries overrun by the *Celtes*, roam'd the utmost isles, *Great Britain*, *Ireland*, the *Orkneys*, *Thule* or *Iceland*, *Ultima Thule*, as it is call'd, the utmost boundary of the world. Such explications are needless to those who are conversant with the classic authors; they are written for those who are not.

Like doubtful hue: but he his wonted pride
 Soon recollecting, with high words, that bore
 Semblance of worth not substance, gently rais'd
 Their fainting courage, and dispell'd their fears. 539
 Then strait commands that at the warlike sound
 Of trumpets loud and clarions be uprear'd
 His mighty standard: that proud honor clam'd
 Azazel as his right, a Cherub tall;
 Who forthwith from the glittering staff unfurl'd 535
 Th' imperial ensign, which full high advanc'd
 Shone

529. *Semblance of worth not substance,*] An expression of Demon, as the learned Dr. Spencer hath abundantly proved in his dis-

ne like a meteor streaming to the wind,
 h gems and golden lustre rich imblaz'd,
 phic arms and trophies; all the while
 orous metal blowing martial sounds: 540

which the universal host up sent
 hout, that tore Hell's concave, and beyond
 ghted the reign of Chaos and old Night.

in a moment through the gloom were seen
 a thousand banners rise into the air 545

h orient colors waving: with them rose

A

is; as also of that ghastly
 by which the fiends appear
 ne another in their place of
 ents: the shout of the whole
 of fallen Angels when drawn
 a battel array: the review
 h the leader makes of his in-
 l army: the flash of light
 h appear'd upon the drawing
 eir swords: the sudden pro-
 on of the Pandemonium: and
 artificial illuminations made
Addison.

3. *Frighted the reign of Chaos
 and old Night.*] *Reign* is used
 the Latin *regnum* for kingdom:
 so in Spenser's *Fairy Queen*,
 Cant. 7. St. 21.

it frait did lead to Pluto's grisly
 reign.

5. *Ten thousand banners rise in-
 to the air*

*With orient colors waving: with
 them rose*

A forest huge of spears;] So Tasso
 describing the Christian and Pagan
 Armies preparing to engage, Cant.
 20. St. 28.

Sparse al vento on doggiando ir le
 bandiere,
 E ventolar su i gran cimier le
 penne:
 Habiti, fregi, imprese, arme, e
 colori,
 D'oro, e di ferro al sol, lampi, e
 fulgori.

29.

Sembra d'alberi densi alta foresta
 L'un campo, e l'altro, di tant'
 haste abonda.

28.

Loose in the wind waved their ene
 signs light,
 Trembled the plumes that on their
 crests were set;

N 3

Thei

A forest huge of spears; and thronging helms
 Appear'd, and ferried shields in thick array
 Of depth immeasurable: anon they move
 In perfect phalanx to the Dorian mood 550
 Of flutes and soft recorders; such as rais'd
 To highth of noblest temper heroes old
 Arming to battel, and instead of rage
 Deliberate valor breath'd, firm and unmov'd.
 With dread of death to flight or foul retreat, 555
 Nor wanting pow'r to mitigate and swage
 With solemn touches troubled thoughts, and chase
 Anguish and doubt and fear and sorrow' and pain
 From mortal or immortal minds. Thus they
 Breathing united force with fixed thought 560
Mov'd

Their arms, impresses, colors, gold
 and stone,

'Gainst the sun beams smil'd, flam'd,
 sparkled, shone.

29.

Of dry topt oaks they seem'd two
 forests thick;

So did each host with spears and
 pikes abound. Fairfax.

Thyer.

548. — *ferried shields*] Lock'd
 one within another, link'd and
 clasp'd together, from the French
ferret, to lock, to shut close.

Hume.

550. — *to the Dorian mood &c.*] All accounts of the music of the Ancients are very uncertain and confus'd. There seem to have been three principal modes or measures among them, the *Lydian*, the *Phrygian*, and the *Dorian*. The *Lydian* was the most doleful, the *Phrygian* the most sprightly, and the *Dorian* the most grave and majestic. And Milton in another part of his works uses *grave* and *Doric* almost as synonymous terms. "If we think
 " to regulate printing, thereby to
 " rectify manners, we must regu-
 " late all recreations and pastimes,
 " all

Mov'd on in silence to soft pipes, that charm'd
 Their painful steps o'er the burnt soil; and now
 Advanc'd in view they stand, a horrid front
 Of dreadful length and dazzling arms, in guise
 Of warriors old with order'd spear and shield, 565
 Awaiting what command their mighty chief
 Had to impose: He through the armed files
 Darts his experienc'd eye, and soon traverse
 The whole battalion views, their order due,
 Their visages and stature as of Gods, 570
 Their number last he sums. And now his heart
 Distends with pride, and hard'ning in his strength
 Glories: for never since created man,
 Met such imbodied force, as nam'd with these

Could

“ all that is delightful to man.
 “ No music must be heard, no song
 “ be set or sung, but what is *grave*
 “ *and Doric*.” (See his Speech for
 the liberty of unlicenc'd Printing.
 Vol. I. p. 149. Edit. 1738.) This
 therefore was the measure best
 adapted to the fall'n Angels at this
 juncture; and their instruments were
flutes and pipes and soft recorders, for
 the same reason that Thucydides
 and other ancient historians assign
 for the Lacedemonians making use
 of these instruments, because they
 inspir'd them with a more cool and
 deliberate courage, whereas trum-

pets and other martial music in-
 cited and inflam'd them more to
 rage. See Aulus Gellius, Lib. I.
 cap. 11. and Thucyd. L. 5.

560. *Breathing united force with
 fixed thought*

Mov'd on in silence] Thus Homer
 makes the Grecians march on in
 silence breathing-force, Iliad. III. 8.

ΟΙ δ' ἀρ' ἰσαν σιγῇ μῦσα στυγερ-
 τες Ἀχαιοί,
 Εἰ θυμῷ κ. τ. λ.

567. — *He through the armed files
 Darts his experienc'd eye, —*] Not
 N 4 unlike

Could merit more than that small infantry 575
 Warr'd on by cranes; though all the giant brood
 Of Phlegra with th' heroic race were join'd
 That fought at Thebes and Ilium, on each side
 Mix'd with auxiliar Gods; and what resounds
 In fable or romance of Uther's son 580
 Birgirt with British and Armoric knights;
 And all who since, baptiz'd or infidel,
 Jousted in Aspramont or Montalban,
 Damasco, or Marocco, or Trebifond,
 Or whom Biserta sent from Afric shore, 585
When

unlike that in Shakespear, Anth. & Cleop. Act I.

— those his goodly eyes
 That o'er the files and musters of
 the war
 Have glow'd like plated Mars.

575. — *that small infantry Warr'd on by cranes;*] All the heroes and armies that ever were assembled were no more than pygmies in comparison with these Angels; *though all the giant brood of Phlegra, a city of Macedonia, where the giants fought with the Gods, with th' heroic race were join'd that fought at Thebes, a city in Bœotia, famous for the war between the sons of Œdipus, celebrated by Statius in his Thebaid, and Ilium made still more famous by Homer's Iliad, where on each*

side the heroes were assisted by the Gods, therefore call'd auxiliar Gods; and what resounds even in fable or romance of Uther's son, king Arthur, son of Uther Pendragon, whose exploits are romantically extoll'd by Geoffry of Monmouth, begirt with British and Armoric knights, for he was often in alliance with the king of Armorica, since called Bretagne, of the Britons who settled there; and all who since jousted in Aspramont or Montalban, romantic names of places mention'd in Orlando Furioso, the latter perhaps Montalban in France, Damasco or Marocco, Damascus or Morocco, but he calls them as they are call'd in romances, or Trebifond, a city of Cappadocia in the lesser Asia, all these places are famous in romances, for joustings between the baptiz'd and infidels;

When Charlemain with all his peerage fell
 by Fontarabbia. Thus far these beyond
 Compare of mortal prowess, yet observ'd
 Their dread commander: he above the rest
 In shape and gesture proudly eminent 590
 stood like a tow'r; his form had yet not lost
 All her original brightness, nor appear'd
 Less than Arch-Angel ruin'd, and th' excess
 Of glory' obscur'd; as when the sun new risen
 Looks through the horizontal misty air 595
 Shorn of his beams, or from behind the moon
 In

lets; or whom Biserta, formerly call'd Utica, sent from Afric shore, that is the Saracens who pass'd from Biserta in Africa to Spain, when Charlemain with all his peerage fell by Fontarabbia, Charlemain king of France and emperor of Germany about the year 800 undertook a war against the Saracens in Spain, and Mariana and the Spanish historians are Milton's authors for saying that he and his army were routed in this manner at Fontarabbia (which is a strong town in Biscay at the very entrance into Spain, and esteem'd the key of the kingdom): but Mezeray and the French writers give a quite different and more probable account of him, that he was at last victorious over his enemies and died in peace. And tho' we

cannot agree with Dr. Bentley in rejecting some of these lines as spurious, yet it is much to be wish'd that our poet had not so far indulg'd his taste for romances, of which he professes himself to have been fond in his younger years, and had not been ostentatious of such reading, as perhaps had better never have been read.

589. — *he above the rest &c.*] What a noble description is here of Satan's person! and how different from the common and ridiculous representations of him, with horns and a tail and cloven feet! and yet Tasso hath so describ'd him, Cant. IV. The greatest masters in painting had not such sublime ideas as Milton, and among all their Devils have drawn no portrait comparable to this; as every body

In dim eclipse disastrous twilight sheds
 On half the nations, and with fear of change
 Perplexes monarchs. Darken'd so, yet shone
 Above them all th' Arch-Angel: but his face 600
 Deep scars of thunder had intrench'd, and care
 Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows
 Of dauntless courage, and considerate pride
 Waiting revenge: cruel his eye, but cast
 Signs of remorse and passion to behold 605
 The fellows of his crime, the followers rather
 (Far other once beheld in bliss) condemn'd
 For ever now to have their lot in pain,

Millions

body must allow who hath seen the pictures or the prints of Michael and the Devil by Raphael, and of the same by Guido, and of the last judgment by Michael Angelo.

598. — *and with fear of change Perplexes monarchs.*] It is said that this noble poem was in danger of being suppress'd by the Licencer on account of this simile, as if it contain'd some latent treason in it: but it is saying little more than poets have said under the most absolute monarchies; as Virgil Georg. I. 464.

— Ille etiam cæcos instare tumultus
 Sæpe monet, fraudemque, et operata
 tumescere bella.

600. — *his face Deep scars of thunder had intrench'd,*] Had cut into, had made trenches there, of the French *trencher* to cut. Shakespear uses the same word speaking of a scar, *It was this very sword intrench'd it.* All's well that ends well, A& II.

609. — *amerc'd*] This word is not used here in its proper law-sense, of mult'd, fin'd, &c. but as Mr. Hume rightly observes has a strange affinity with the Greek *αμερδω*, to deprive, to take away, as Homer has used it much to our purpose.

ὄφθαλμων μὲν ἀμερσε, δὲ δὲ
 δ' ἠδ' ἔσαν αἰοῖδ' ἦν.

The Muse amerc'd him of his eyes,
 but

illions of Spirits for his fault amerc'd
 Heav'n, and from eternal splendors flung 610
 For his revolt, yet faithful how they stood,
 Their glory wither'd: as when Heaven's fire
 Hath scath'd the forest oaks, or mountain pines,
 With singed top their stately growth though bare
 Remains on the blasted heath. He now prepar'd 615
 To speak; whereat their doubled ranks they bend
 From wing to wing, and half inclose him round
 With all his peers: attention held them mute.
 Thrice he assay'd, and thrice in spite of scorn
 Burst forth; at last 620

Words

gave him the faculty of singeing
 Odyss. VIII. 64. And I
 well remember to have read
 the word used in the same sense
 elsewhere in Spenser, but cannot
 present turn to the place.

1. — *yet faithful how they stood,*
 [see the true construction of this
 must go back to ver. 605 for
 verb. The sense then is this,
bold the fellows of his crime,
remained &c, yet how they stood
ful. Richardson.

2. — *as when Heaven's fire*
had scath'd &c.] Hath hurt, hath
 sing'd; a word frequently used
 by haucer, Spenser, Shakespear,
 our old writers. This is a very
 useful and close simile; it re-
 presents the majestic stature, and

wither'd glory of the Angels; and
 the last with great propriety, since
 their lustre was impair'd by thun-
 der, as well as that of the trees in
 the simile: and besides, the blasted
 heath gives us some idea of that
 singed burning soil, on which the
 Angels were standing. Homer and
 Virgil frequently use comparisons
 from trees, to express the stature
 or falling of a hero, but none of
 them are apply'd with such variety
 and propriety of circumstances as
 this of Milton. See *An Essay upon*
Milton's imitations of the Ancients,
 p. 24.

619. *Thrice he assay'd, and thrice—*
Tears burst forth.] He had
 Ovid in his thought, *Metam. XI.*
 419.

Ter

Words interwove with sighs found out their way.

O Myriads of immortal Spi'rits, O Powers
Matchless, but with th' Almighty, and that strife
Was not inglorious, though th' event was dire,
As this place testifies, and this dire change 625
Hateful to nater: but what pow'r of mind
Foreseeing or presaging, from the depth
Of knowledge past or present, could have fear'd,
How such united force of Gods, how such
As stood like these, could ever know repulse? 630
For who can yet believe, though after loss,
That all these puissant legions, whose exile
Hath emptied Heav'n, shall fail to re-ascend
Self-rais'd, and repossess their native seat?
For me be witness all the host of Heaven, 635
If

*Ter conata loqui, ter fletibus ora
rigavit. Bentley.*

Tears such as Angels weep, Like Homer's Ichor of the Gods which was different from the blood of mortals. This weeping of Satan on surveying his numerous host, and the thoughts of their wretched state, puts one in mind of the story of Xerxes weeping on seeing his vast army, and reflecting that they were mortal, at the time that he was hast'ning them to their fate,

and to the intended destruction of the greatest people in the world, to gratify his own vain glory.

623. — and that strife
Was not inglorious,] *Ovid. Met.*
IX. 6.

— nec tam
Turpe fuit vinci, quam contra-
disse decorum est.

633. *Hath emptied Heav'n,]* It is conceiv'd that a third part of the Angels fell with Satan, according to Rev. XII. 4. *And his tail drew*
the

f counfels different, or danger shunn'd
 By me, have lost our hopes. But he who reigns
 Monarch in Heav'n, till then as one secure
 Sat on his throne, upheld by old repute,
 Consent or custom, and his regal state 640
 Put forth at full, but still his strength conceal'd,
 Which tempted our attempt, and wrought our fall.
 Henceforth his might we know, and know our own,
 So as not either to provoke, or dread
 New war, provok'd; our better part remains 645
 To work in close design, by fraud or guile,
 What force effected not: that he no less
 At length from us may find, who overcomes
 By force, hath overcome but half his foe.
 Success may produce new worlds; whereof so rife 650
 There

the third part of the stars of Heaven, and cast them to the earth; and in his opinion Milton hath express'd several places, II. 692. V. 710. l. 156: but Satan here talks big and magnifies their number, as if his exile had emptied Heaven.
 642. *Which tempted our attempt,] words tho' well chosen and significative enough, yet of jingling and pleasant sound, and like margins between persons too near kin, to be avoided. Hume.*
 this kind of jingle was undoubted-

ly thought an elegance by Milton, and many instances of it may be shown not only in his works, but I believe in all the best poets both ancient and modern, tho' the latter I am afraid have been sometimes too liberal of them.
 647. — *that he no less &c.]* Satan had own'd just before, ver. 642. that they had been deceiv'd by God's concealing his strength; He now says, He also shall find himself mistaken in his turn; He shall find our cunning such as that the'

There went a fame in Heav'n that he ere long
Intended to create, and therein plant
A generation, whom his choice regard
Should favor equal to the sons of Heaven:
Thither, if but to pry, shall be perhaps 655
Our first eruption, thither or elsewhere:
For this infernal pit shall never hold
Celestial Spi'rits in bondage, nor th' abyfs
Long under darkness cover. But these thoughts
Full counsel must mature: Peace is despair'd, 660
For who can think submission? War then, War
Open or understood must be resolv'd.

He spake: and to confirm his words, out-flew
 millions of flaming swords, drawn from the thighs
 of mighty Cherubim; the sudden blaze 665
 around illumin'd Hell: highly they rag'd
 against the Highest, and fierce with grasped arms
 dash'd on their sounding shields the din of war,
 hurling defiance toward the vault of Heaven.

There stood a hill not far, whose grisly top 670
 catch'd fire and rolling smoke; the rest entire
 one with a glossy scurf, undoubted sign
 that in his womb was hid metallic ore,
 the work of sulphur. Thither wing'd with speed

A

fixed stars above which God
 Angels inhabit? Hurling de-
 ce toward the *visible* Heaven is
 effect hurling defiance toward
invisible Heaven, the feat of
 d and Angels.

[171. *Belch'd*] So Virgil, *Æn.* III.
 he says *crætiæ* of *Ætna*, from
 ich, or from mount *Vesuvius*, or
 like, our poet took the idea of
 mountain.

[173. *That in his womb*] A very
 at man was observing one day
 the inaccuracy of expression in
 poet's making this mountain a
 son and a male person, and at
 same time attributing a *womb* to

And perhaps it would have
 a better if he had written *its*
womb; but *womb* is used in as large
 use as the Latin *uterus*, which

Virgil applies to a stag, *Æn.* VII.
 490.

*Ille manum patiens, mensæque af-
 fectus herili,*

but afterwards *Ascanius* wounds
 him, ver. 499.

*Perque uterum sonitu, perque ilia
 venit arundo.*

Virgil makes use of the same word
 again in speaking of a wolf, *Æn.*
 XI. 809.

Ac velut ille —

Occiso pastore lupus —

— caudamque remulcens

*Subjecit pavitantem utero, sylvas-
 que petivit.*

[674. *The work of sulphur.*] For
 metals are supposed to consist of
 two

A numerous brigad hasten'd: as when bands 675
Of pioneers with spade and pickax arm'd
Forerun the royal camp, to trench a field,
Or cast a rampart. Mammon led them on,
Mammon, the least erected Spi'rit that fell
From Heav'n, for e'en in Heav'n his looks and thoughts
Were always downward bent, admiring more 681
The riches of Heav'n's pavement, trodden gold,
Than ought divine or holy else enjoy'd
In vision beatific: by him first
Men also, and by his suggestion taught, 685
Ransack'd

ick'd the center, and with impious hands
 l the bowels of their mother earth
 easures better hid. Soon had his crew
 'd into the hill a spacious wound;
 ligg'd out ribs of gold. Let none admire 690
 riches grow in Hell; that soil may best
 ve the precious bane. And here let those
 boast in mortal things, and wond'ring tell
 abel, and the works of Memphian kings,
 how their greatest monuments of fame, 695
 strength and art are easily out-done

By

is fame thing. This obser-
 ves the appearance of ac-

But Milton is exact, and
 in a beautiful manner to a
 ous opinion, generally be-
 enough the miners: That
 re a sort of Devils which
 is much in minerals, where
 re frequently seen to busy
 ejoy themselves in all the
 ms of the workmen; they
 g, cleanse, melt, and sepa-
 metals. See G. Agricola
 mantibus subterraneis. So
 Milton poetically supposes
 and his clan to have taught
 of earth by example and
 d instruction, as well as pre-
 mental suggestion.

Warburton.

*Rifled the bowels of their mo-
 ther earth]*

b. L

—Itum est in viscera terræ,
 Quasq̄us reconsiderat, Stygiisque
 admoverat umbris,
 Effodiantur opes.

Ov. Met. I. 138, &c.
Hume.

688. *For treasures better hid.]*
 Hor. Od. III. III. 49.

Aurum irreperitum, et sic meliùs
 fitum.

694. — [*and the works of Mem-
 phian kings,]* He seems to
 allude particularly to the famous
 Pyramids of Egypt, which were
 near Memphis.

Barbara Pyramidum fletat miracu-
 la Memphis. Mart.

695. *Learn how their greatest mo-
 numents of fame,*

*And strength and art &c.] This
 passage*

O

By Spirits reprobate, and in an hour
 What in an age they with incessant toil
 And hands innumerable scarce perform.
 Nigh on the plain in many cells prepar'd, 760
 That underneath had veins of liquid fire
 Sluc'd from the lake, a second multitude
 With wondrous art founded the massy ore,
 Severing each kind, and scumm'd the bullion dross:
 A third as soon had form'd within the ground 765

passage has been misunderstood by Dr. Bentley and others. *Strength and art* are not to be construed in the genitive case with *same*, but in the nominative with *monuments*. And then the meaning is plainly thus, *Learn how their greatest monuments of sume, and how their strength and art are easily outdone &c.*

699. *And hands innumerable*] There were 360000 men employ'd for near twenty years upon one of the Pyramids, according to Diodorus Siculus, Lib. 1. and Pliny Lib. 36. cap. 17.

702. — *a second multitude* With wondrous art founded the massy ore,] The first band dug the metal out of the mountain, a second multitude on the plain hard by founded or melted it; for founded it should be read as in the first edition, and not *found out* as it is in the subsequent ones; *founded* from *funderre*, to melt, to cast metal.

704. — *and scumm'd the bullion dross*:] Dr. Bentley says the *bullion dross* is a strange blunder to pass thro' all editions: He supposes that the author gave it, *and scumm'd from bullion dross*. But I believe the common reading may be defended. The word *bullion* does not signify *purify'd ore*, as the Doctor says; but ore boiled or boiling; and when the dross is taken off, then it is purify'd ore. Agreeably to this Milton in his tract call'd *the Reformation of England*, says *to extract heaps of gold and silver out of the drossy bullion of the world's sins*. And Milton makes *bullion* an adjective here, tho' commonly it is a substantive; just as in V. 140. we have *ocean brim*, and in III. the *virgin seed*. And so *bullion* may signify *the dross that comes from the metal*, as Spenser expresses it, or the dross that swam on the surface of the boiling ore. The sense of the passage is this; *They found*

A various mold, and from the boiling cells
 By strange conveyance fill'd each hollow nook,
 As in an organ from one blast of wind
 To many a row of pipes the sound-board breathes.

anon out of the earth a fabric huge 710
 Rose like an exhalation, with the sound
 Of dulcet symphonies and voices sweet,
 Built like a temple, where pilasters round
 Were set, and Doric pillars overlaid

With

er melted the ore that was in the
ash, by separating or *severing* each
 ind, that is, the sulphur, earth,
 &c. from the metal; and after
 out, they *scum'd* the *drofs* that
 stood on the top of the boiling ore.
Pearce.

bellion drofs, as one would say gold-
 drofs or silver-drofs, the drofs which
 rose from the melted metal in re-
 ning it. *Richardson.*

708. *As in an organ &c.*] This
 simile is as exact, as it is new. And
 we may observe, that our author
 frequently fetches his images from
 music more than any other English
 poet, as he was very fond of it,
 and was himself a performer upon
 the organ and other instruments.

711. *Rose like an exhalation,*] *The*
golden rising of Pandemonium
 is supposed, and with great
 probability, to be a hint taken
 from some of the moving scenes
 of machines invented for the stage
 by the famous Jaigo Jones.

712. *Of dulcet symphonies*] This
 word is used likewise by Shake-
 spear, *Midsummer Night's Dream*,
 Act II.

Uttering such *dulcet* and harmo-
 nious' breath.

713. — *where pilasters round &c.*] *One*
 of the greatest faults of Mil-
 ton is his affectation of showing his
 learning and knowledge upon every
 occasion. He could not so much
 as describe this structure without
 bringing in I know not how many
 terms of architecture, which it will
 be proper for the sake of many
 readers to explain. *Pilasters round,*
pillars jutting out of the wall, were
set, and Doric pillars, pillars of the
 Doric order; as their music was *as*
the Dorian mood, ver. 550, so their
 architecture was of the Doric or-
 der; *overlaid with golden archi-*
trave, that part of a column above
 the capital; *nor did there want can-*
opies, the uppermost member of the
 inta-

With golden architrave; nor did there want 715
 Cornice or freeze, with bossy sculptures graven;
 The roof was fretted gold. Not Babylon,
 Nor great Alcairo such magnificence
 Equal'd in all their glories, to inshrine
 Belus or Serapis their Gods, or seat 720
 Their kings, when Egypt with Assyria strove
 In wealth and luxury. Th' ascending pile
 Stood fix'd her stately highth, and strait the doors

Opening

intablature of the column; or freeze, and this latter the worse; because
 that part of the intablature of co- Alcairo is the modern name of

Opening their brazen folds discover wide
 Within, her ample spaces, o'er the smooth 725
 And level pavement: from the arched roof
 Pendent by subtle magic many a row
 Of starry lamps and blazing cressets fed
 With Naphtha and Asphaltus yielded light
 As from a sky. The hasty multitude 730
 Admiring enter'd, and the work some praise
 And some the architect: his hand was known

In

there are other authorities, which may serve to justify Milton; for we read in Martianus Capella, *Te Serapis Nithus* &c. and in Prudentius *Ihis culnis et Serapis* &c. Pearce.

725. *Within.*] An adverb here and not a preposition: and therefore Milton puts a comma after it, that it may not be join'd in construction with *her ample spaces*. So Virgil *Æn.* II. 483.

Apparet domus intus, et atria longa patescunt.

725.—*her ample spaces.*] A beautiful Latinism this. So Seneca describing Hercules's descent into Hell. *Herc. Fur.* III. 673.

Hinc ample vacuis spatia laxantur locis. Thyer.

726.—*from the arched roof, &c.*] How much superior is this to that in Virgil *Æn.* I. 726.

— dependent *lychni laquearibus aurcis Incensi, et noctem flammis funalia vincunt.*

From gilded roofs depending lamps display
 Nocturnal beams, that emulate the day. Dryden.

728. — *and blazing cressets fed With Naphtha and Asphaltus*] A *cresset* is any great blazing light, as a beacon. *Naphtha* is of so unctuous and fiery a nature, that it kindles at approaching the fire, or the sunbeams. *Asphaltus* or bitumen, another pitchy substance. *Richardson.* And the word *cresset* I find used likewise in Shakespear, 1 Hen. IV. A 3 III. Glendower speaks,

— at my nativity
 The front of Heav'n was full of
 fiery shapes,
 Of burning cressets.

In Heav'n by many a towred structure high,
 Where scepter'd Angels held their residence,
 And sat as princes, whom the supreme King 735
 Exalted to such pow'r, and gave to rule,
 Each in his hierarchy, the orders bright.
 Nor was his name unheard or unador'd
 In ancient Greece; and in Ausonian land
 Men call'd him Mulciber; and how he fell 740
 From

[738. *Nor was his name unheard &c.*] Dr. Bentley says, "This is care-
 lessly express'd. Why does he not
 tell his name in Greece, as well
 as his Latin name? and *Mulciber*

Παν δ' ημαρ εεσομεν, εμα δ' νε-
 λιω καταδωσι
 Κατπεσον εν Λημεν' ελυθ' ε
 τι θυμ' ενησ'

PARADISE LOST. 79

Heav'n, they fabled, thrown by angry Jove
 O'er the crystal battlements; from morn-
 ing he fell, from noon to dewy eve,
 Summer's day; and with the setting sun
 from the zenith like a falling star,
 745
 illumos th' Ægean ile: thus they relate,
 ; for he with this rebellious rout
 long before; nor ought avail'd him now

T'have

*is more to upon, from upon
 and this a summer's day.
 a similar passage in the
 where Ulysses describes
 long twenty four hours; to-
 and to make the time seem
 it, divides it into several
 d points them out distinctly
 diff. VII. 288.*

ἄπειρος, καὶ ἐπ' ἡμῶν,
 μέσσην ἡμερῶν,
 ἵψ' ἠελίου, καὶ με γλυ-
 ῦπτ' ἄρηται.

*On Lemnos th' Ægean ile:]
 Stey reads, On Lemnos thence
 and calls it a scandalous
 write Ægean with a wrong
 th' Ægean. But Milton in
 manner pronounces Thy-
 Thyestean in X. 688. and
 the Regain'd, IV. 238, we
 the first edition, which
 they pronounce to be with-
 s.*

Where on the Ægean shore a city stands.

And Fairfax led the way to this
 manner of pronouncing the word,
 or rather to this poetical liberty;
 for in his translation of Tasso, C. 1.
 St. 60. he says

O'er Ægean seas thro' many a Greekish hold;

and in C. 12. St. 63.

As Ægean seas &c. *Pearce.*

748. — nor ought avail'd him now &c.] Hom. Iliad. V. 53.

Ἄλλ' εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ χερισμ' Ἀρ-
 τεμὶς ἰοχέμερα,
 Ὅδ' ἴμπεδοναί.

Virg. Æn. XI. 843.

Nec tibi desertæ in damis coluisse
 Dianam
 Profuit.

T'have built in Heav'n high tow'rs; nor did he 'scape
By all his engines, but was headlong sent 750

With his industrious crew to build in Hell.

Mean while the winged heralds by command
Of sovran pow'r, with awful ceremony

And trumpet's found, throughout the host proclame

A solemn council forthwith to be held 755

At Pandemonium, the high capital

Of Satan and his peers: their summons call'd

From every band and squared regiment

By

750. *By all his engines,*] An inge- for martial exercises on horse-

By place or choice the worthiest; they anon
 With hundreds and with thousands trooping came
 Attended: all access was throng'd, the gates
 And porches wide, but chief the spacious hall
 (Though like a cover'd field, where champions bold
 Wont ride in arm'd, and at the Soldan's chair
 Defy'd the best of Panim chivalry
 To mortal combat, or career with lance)
 Thick swarm'd, both on the ground and in the air
 Brush'd with the hiss of rustling wings. As bees

761

765

In

Ἦντε ὄνια σοι μελισσῶν ἀδύ-
 ταντ,
 Πέτραις ἐκ γλαφυρῆς αἰαι τῶν ἐρ-
 χόμενων,
 Βοτρυδῶν δὲ πηροῖαι ἐπ' ἀθίσσῳ
 μακροῖσι π,
 Ἄς μὲν ὄνθα ἀλὶς ποποτῆται,
 αἰ δὲ τὲ ὄνθα.

Milton has very well express'd the force of *βοτρυδῶν* by *in clusters*, as Pope has done by *clust'ring*, tho' in the rest of his translation he has by no means equal'd the beauties of the original.

As from some rocky clift the shep-
 herd fees
 Clust'ring in heaps on heaps the
 driving bees,
 Rolling, and black'ning, swarms
 succeeding swarms,
 With deeper murmurs and more
 hoarse alarms;

Dusky they spread, a close im-
 body'd croud,
 And o'er the vale descends the
 living cloud.

There are such similes likewise in Virgil, *Æn.* I. 430.

Qualis apes æstate novâ per feras
 rura
 Exercet sub sole labor; cum gen-
 tis adultos
 Educunt fortus, &c.

Such is their toil, and such their
 busy pains,
 As exercise the bees in flow'ry
 plains;
 When winter past, and summer
 scarce began
 Invites them forth to labor in the
 sun:
 Some lead their youth abroad, &c.

Dryden,

And

In spring time, when the sun with Taurus rides,
 Pour forth their populous youth about the hive 770
 In clusters; they among fresh dews and flowers
 Fly to and fro, or on the smoothed plank,
 The suburb of their straw-built citadel,

New

And again, Æn. VI. 707.

Ac veluti in pratis, ubi apes æstate
 serena

Floribus infidunt variis &c.

But our poet carries the similitude farther than either of his great masters, and mentions the bees *consulting their state affairs*, as he is going to give an account of the consultations of the Devils.

769. *In spring time, when the sun with Taurus rides,]*

Candidus auratis aperit cum cornibus annum

Taurus. Georg. I. 217. In April.
Hume.

Dr. Bentley reads in *Taurus rides*, and says, Does *Taurus* ride too, a constellation fix'd? Yes, or else Ovid is wrong throughout his whole *Fæsti*, where he describes the rising and setting of the signs of the zodiac: See what he says of the rising of *Taurus*, V. 603. and our author in X. 663, speaking of the fix'd stars, says, *Which of them rising with the sun or falling, &c. Pearce.*

770. *Pour forth their populous youth about the hive]*

Virg. Georg. IV. 21.

— Cum prima novi ducent emina reges

Vere suo, ludetque sævia cæcis juventus.

777. *Behold a wonder! &c.*] The passage in the catalogue, explaining the manner how Spirits transform themselves by contractions or enlargement of their dimensions, is introduced with great judgment, to make way for several surprising accidents in the sequel of the poem. There follows one, at the very end of the first book, which is what the French critics call *surcroûte*, but at the same time *probable* by reason of the passage last mention'd. As soon as the infernal palace is finish'd, we are told the multitude and rabble of Spirits immediately shrank themselves into a small compass, that there might be room for such a numberless assembly in this capacious hall. But it is the poet's refinement upon this thought which I most admire, and which is indeed very noble in itself. For he tells us, that notwithstanding the vulgar, among the fallen Spirits, contracted their forms, those of the first rank and dignity still preserved their natural dimensions.

Addition.
 Monsieur Voltaire is of a different opinion

ubb'd with balm, expatiate and confer
 state affairs. So thick the aery croud 775
 i'd and were straiten'd; till the signal given,
 l a wonder! they but now who seem'd
 nefs to surpass earth's giant fons,

Now

with regard to the contrivance of the Devils into and possibly more may with him than with Mr. Addison I dare affirm, says he, that the contrivance of the Pandemonium have been entirely disapproved of by critics like Boissacine, &c. That seat built parliament of the Devils very preposterous; since Satan had summon'd them altogether harangu'd them just before an ample field. The council necessary; but where it was held, 'twas very indifferent. It when afterwards the Devils dwarfs to fill their places house, as if it was impracticable to build a room large enough to contain them in their natural state is an idle story, which does not match the most extravagant And to crown all, Satan chief Lords preserving their monstrous forms, while the rest of the Devils shrink into a shape, heightens the ridicule of the contrivance to an unnecessary degree. Methinks the criterion for discerning what is ridiculous in an epic is to examine if the same

thing would not fit exactly the mock-heroic. Then I dare say that nothing is so adapted to that ludicrous way of writing, as the metamorphosis of the Devils into dwarfs. See his Essay on epic poetry, p. 113, 114. I have been favored with a letter from William Duncombe Esq; justifying Milton against Monsieur Voltaire's objections. As to the contrivance of Pandemonium, he thinks it agreeable to the rules of decency and decorum to provide a saloon for his Satanic majesty and his mighty compeers (the progeny of Heaven) in some measure adapted to the dignity of their characters; and the description is not inferior to any thing in Homer or Virgil of the like kind. We may farther add, that as Satan had his palace in Heaven, it was more likely that he should have one in Hell likewise; and as he had before harangued the fallen Angels in the open field, it was proper for the sake of variety as well as for other reasons that the council should be held in Pandemonium. As to the fallen Angels contracting their shapes while their chiefs preserved their natural dimensions, Mr. Duncombe observes with Mr. Addison, that

Now less than smallest dwarfs, in narrow room
 Throng numberless, like that pygmean race
 Beyond the Indian mount, or faery elves,
 Whose midnight revels by a forest side
 Or fountain some belated peasant sees,

780

O:

that Milton had artfully prepared the reader for this incident by marking their power to contract or enlarge their substance; and Milton seems to have intended hereby to distinguish and aggrandize the idea of the chieftains, and to describe in a more probable manner the numberless myriads of fallen Angels contain'd in one capacious hall. If Milton had represented the whole host in their enormous sizes, crowded in one room, the fiction would have been more shocking and more unnatural than as it stands at present. These arguments seem to carry some weight with them, and upon these we must rest Milton's defense, and leave the determination to the reader.

780.—*like that pygmean race &c.*] There are also several noble similes and allusions in the first book of Paradise Lost. And here I must observe, that when Milton alludes either to things or persons, he never quits his simile till it rises to some very great idea, which is often foreign to the occasion that gave birth to it. The resemblance does not, perhaps, last above a line or two, but the poet runs on with

the hint till he has raised out of it some glorious image or sentiment, proper to inflame the mind of the reader, and to give it that sublime kind of entertainment, which is suitable to the nature of an heroic poem. Those, who are acquainted with Homer's and Virgil's way of writing, cannot but be pleas'd with this kind of structure in Milton's similitudes. I am the more particular on this head, because ignorant readers, who have formed their taste upon the quaint similes and little turns of wit, which are so much in vogue among modern poets, cannot relish these beauties which are of a much higher nature, and are therefore apt to censure Milton's comparisons in which they do not see any surprising points of likeness. Monsieur Perault was a man of this vitiated relish, and for that very reason has endeavor'd to turn into ridicule several of Homer's similitudes, which he calls *comparaisons a longue queue, long-tail'd comparisons*. I shall conclude this paper on the first book of Milton with the answer, which Monsieur Boileau makes to Perault on this occasion. "Comparisons, says he, in odes and epic poems,

" poems,

Or dreams he sees, while over-head the moon
 Sits arbitress, and nearer to the earth
 Wheels her pale course, they on their mirth and dances
 Intent, with jocund music charm his ears;
 At once with joy and fear his heart rebounds.

Thus

“ poems, are not introduced only
 “ to illustrate and embellish the
 “ discourse, but to amuse and re-
 “ lax the mind of the reader, by
 “ frequently disengaging him from
 “ too painful an attention to the
 “ principal subject, and by leading
 “ him into other agreeable images.
 “ Homer, says he, excell'd in this
 “ particular, whose comparisons
 “ abound with such images of na-
 “ ture as are proper to relieve
 “ and diversify his subjects. He
 “ continually instructs the reader,
 “ and makes him take notice,
 “ even in objects which are every
 “ day before our eyes, of such cir-
 “ cumstances as we should not
 “ otherwise have observed.” To
 this he adds as a maxim univer-
 sally acknowledged, “ That it is
 “ not necessary in poetry for the
 “ points of the comparison to cor-
 “ respond with one another ex-
 “ actly, but that a general resem-
 “ blance is sufficient, and that too
 “ much nicety in this particular
 “ favors of the rhetorician and
 “ epigrammatist.” In short, if we
 look into the conduct of Homer,
 Virgil, and Milton, as the great
 fable is the soul of each poem, so
 to give their works an agreeable

variety; their episodes are so many
 short fables, and their similes so
 many short episodes; to which you
 may add, if you please, that their
 metaphors are so many short si-
 miles. If the reader consider the
 comparisons in the first book of
 Milton; of the sun in an eclipse
 of the sleeping leviathan; of the
 bees swarming about their hive, of
 the faery dance, in the view where-
 in I have here placed them, he
 will easily discover the great beauties
 that are in each of those pas-
 sages. *Addison.*

783. ——— *scs.*
 Or dreams he sees,] Virg. *Æn.* V.
 454.

Aut videt, aut vidisse putat —

785. *Sits arbitress,*] Arbitress
 here signifies witness, spectatrix.
 So Hor. *Epod.* V. 49.

O rebus meis
 Non infideles arbitra
 Nox et Diana. *Heylin.*

785. ——— *and nearer to the earth*] This is said in allusion to the super-
 stitious notion of witches and fae-
 ries having great power over the
 moon.

Car-

Thus incorporeal Spirits to smallest forms
 Reduc'd their shapes immense, and were at large, 790
 Though without number still amidst the hall
 Of that infernal court. But far within,
 And in their own dimensions like themselves,
 The great Seraphic Lords and Cherubim
 In close recess and secret conclave sat 795
 A thousand Demi-gods on golden seats,
 Frequent and full. After short silence then
 And summons read, the great consult began.

*Carmina vel cœlo possunt deducere
 lunam. Virg. Ecl. VIII. 69.*

790. *Reduc'd their shapes immense,
 and were at large, &c.*] Tho'
 numberless they had so contracted
 their dimensions, as to have room
 enough to be *Au large* (French)
A largo (Italian) and be yet in the
 hall. See XI. 626.

Ere long to swim at large.

Richardson.

795. *In close recess and secret con-
 clave sat*] It is not impro-

bable that the poet might allude
 here to what is strictly and proper-
 ly call'd *the conclave*; for it is cer-
 tain that he had not a much better
 opinion of the one than of the
 other of these assemblies.

797. *Frequent and full.*] So we
 have in Latin *frequentus* *sanctus*
full house. And he makes use of
 the same expression in English prose,
 "The assembly was *full and fre-
 quent* according to summons." See
 his History of England in the reign
 of Edward the Confessor.

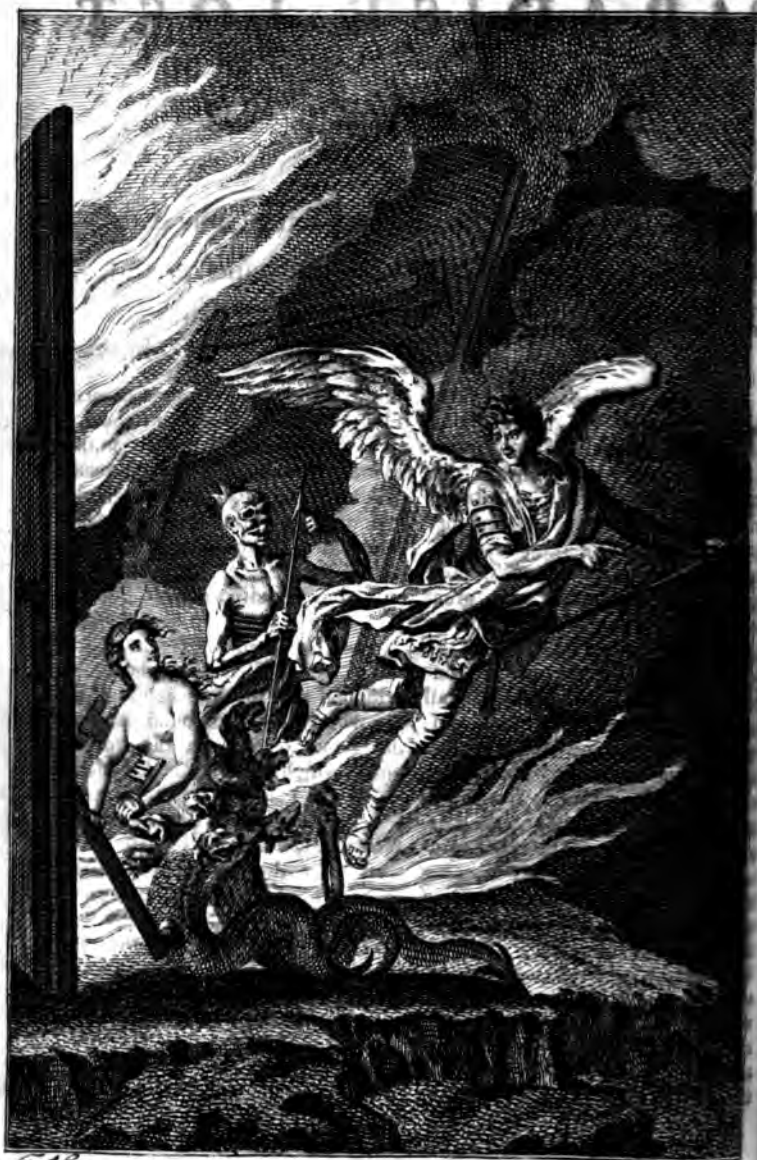
The end of the First Book.



THE
SECOND BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

T H E A R G U M E N T .

The consultation begun, Satan debates whether another battel be to be hazarded for the recovery of Heaven: some advise it, others dissuade: A third proposal is preferr'd, mention'd before by Satan, to search the truth of that prophecy or tradition in Heaven concerning another world, and another kind of creature equal or not much inferior to themselves, about this time to be created: Their doubt who shall be sent on this difficult search: Satan their chief undertakes alone the voyage, is honor'd and applauded. The council thus ended, the rest betake them several ways, and to several employments, as their inclinations lead them, to entertain the time till Satan return. He passes on his journey to Hell gates, finds them shut, and who sat there to guard them, by whom at length they are open'd, and discover to him the great gulf between Hell and Heaven; with what difficulty he passes through, directed by Chaos, the Power of that place, to the sight of this new world which he sought.



S. Hayman inv. et del:

J. S. Müller sc.

Book 2.

PARADISE LOST.

B O O K II.

HIGH on a throne of royal state, which far
 Outshone the wealth of Ormus and of Ind,
 Where the gorgeous east with richest hand
 Show'rs

High on a throne &c.] I have observed in general, that persons, whom Milton introduces into his poem, always distinguish sentiments and behaviours in a peculiar manner suitable to their respective characters. Every circumstance in their words and actions is with great force and delicacy adapted to the persons who speak and act. As they vary much excels in this copy of his characters, I shall now to consider several passages of the second book in this manner. That superior greatness and majesty, which is ascribed to Satan of the fallen Angels, is chiefly preserved in the beginning of this book. His opening of the debate; his taking up that great enterprise at the sight of which the whole assembly trembled; his engaging the hideous phantom, who guarded the gates of Hell and led to him in all his terrors, instances of that proud and haughty mind, which could not brook

L. I.

submission even to omnipotence. The same boldness and intrepidity of behaviour discovers itself in the several adventures which he meets with during his passage through the regions of unformed matter, and particularly in his address to those tremendous Powers who are described as presiding over it.

Addison.

2. — *the wealth of Ormus and of Ind.*] That is diamonds, a principal part of the wealth of India where they are found, and of the island Ormus (in the Persian gulf) which is the mart for them.

Pearce.

3. *Or where the gorgeous east &c.*] Not that Ormus and Ind were in the west, but the sense is that the throne of Satan outshone diamonds, or pearl and gold, the choicest whereof are produced in the east. Spenser expresses the same thought thus, Fairy Queen, B. 3. C. 4. St. 23.

— that it did pass
 The wealth of th' east, and pomp
 of Persian kings.

P

And

Show'rs on her kings barbaric pearl and gold,
Satan exalted sat, by merit rais'd
To that bad eminence; and from despair
Thus high uplifted beyond hope, aspires
Beyond thus high, insatiate to pursue
Vain war with Heav'n, and by success untaught
His proud imaginations thus display'd.

Pow'rs and Dominions, Deities of Heaven,
For since no deep within her gulf can hold
Immortal vigor, though oppress'd and fall'n,
I give not Heav'n for lost. From this descent
Celestial virtues rising, will appear

though just right, and the fix'd laws of Heaven
 first create your leader, next free choice,
 what besides, in counsel or in fight, 20
 been achiev'd of merit, yet this loss
 far at least recover'd, hath much more
 blissh'd in a safe unenvied throne
 led with full consent. The happier state
 heav'n, which follows dignity, might draw 25
 from each inferior; but who here
 envy whom the highest place exposes
 most to stand against the Thund'rer's aim
 bulwark, and condemns to greatest share
 idle's pain? where there is then no good 30
 which to strive, no strife can grow up there

From

lopts this word into the Ita-
 guage in a description simi-
 us, Cant. 17. St. 10.

di barbarico ornamento,
 ito regal splendor si vede.

ow'rs and Dominions,] As
 calls the Angels, Thrones
 izians or Principalities or
 Col. I. 16.

As though just right, &c.]
 ghtly placed first in the sen-
 eing the emphatical word
 accusative case govern'd
 two verbs which follow,
 id establish'd. Me though
 : &c did first create your

leader, yet this loss hath much
 more establish'd in a safe unenvied
 throne.

21. — *achiev'd*] We spell it as
 we pronounce it *atchiev'd*; but Mil-
 ton writes it *achiev'd*, like the
 French *achever*, from whence it is
 deriv'd.

24. — *The happier state*
In Heav'n, which follows dignity,
 &c.] He means that the higher in
 dignity any being was in Heaven,
 the happier his state was; and that
 therefore inferiors might there envy
 superiors, because they were hap-
 pier too. *Pearce*.

From faction; for none sure will clame in Hell
Precedence, none, whose portion is so small
Of present pain, that with ambitious mind
Will covet more. With this advantage then
To union, and firm faith, and firm accord,
More than can be in Heav'n, we now return
To clame our just inheritance of old,
Surer to prosper than prosperity
Could have assur'd us; and by what best way,
Whether of open war or covert guile,
We now debate; who can advise, may speak.
He ceas'd; and next him Moloch, scepter'd king,

Stood up, the strongest and the fiercest Spirit
 That fought in Heav'n, now fiercer by despair: 45
 His trust was with th' Eternal to be deem'd
 Equal in strength, and rather than be less
 Car'd not to be at all; with that care lost
 Went all his fear: of God, or Hell, or worse
 He reck'd not, and these words thereafter spake. 50

My sentence is for open war: of wiles,
 More unexpert, I boast not: them let those
 Contrive who need, or when they need, not now.
 For while they sit contriving, shall the rest,
 Millions that stand in arms, and longing wait 55
 The

declares himself abruptly for war, and appears incensed at his companions, for losing so much time as even to deliberate upon it. All his sentiments are rash, audacious and desperate. Such is that of arming themselves with their tortures, and turning their punishments upon him who inflicted them. His preferring annihilation to shame or misery is also highly suitable to his character; as the comfort he draws from their disturbing the peace of Heaven, that if it be not victory it is revenge, is a sentiment truly diabolical, and becoming the bitterness of this implacable Spirit. Addison.

43. — [scpter'd king.] As Homer says, *ἄσπετος βασιλεύς*. *Iliad*, l. 279.

47. — *and rather than be less Car'd not to be at all;*] Dr. Bentley reads *He rather than &c.* because at present the construction is *and his trust car'd not &c.* But such small faults are not only to be pardon'd but overlook'd in great geniuses. Fabius VIII. 3. says of Cicero, *In vitium sæpe incidit securus tam parvæ observationis:* and in X. 1. *Neque id statim legenti persuasum sit omnia, quæ magni auctores dixerint, esse perfecta; nam et labantur aliquando, et oneri cædunt &c.* Pearce.

50. *He reck'd not,*] He made no account of. To *reck* much the same as to reckon. *And spake thereafter,* that is accordingly, as one who made no account of God or Hell or any thing.

The signal to ascend, sit ling'ring here
 Heav'n's fugitives, and for their dwelling place
 Accept this dark opprobrious den of shame,
 The prison of his tyranny who reigns
 By our delay? no, let us rather choose, 60
 Arm'd with Hell flames and fury, all at once
 O'er Heav'n's high tow'rs to force resistless way,
 Turning our tortures into horrid arms
 Against the torturer; when to meet the noise
 Of his almighty engin he shall hear 65
 Infernal thunder, and for lightning see
 Black fire and horror shot with equal rage
 Among his Angels, and his throne itself
 Mix'd with Tartarean sulphur, and strange fire,
 His own invented torments. But perhaps 70
 The way seems difficult and steep to scale
 With upright wing against a higher foe.

Let

56.—*fit ling'ring here*] Dr. Bentley reads *stay ling'ring here*, because we have before *stand in arms*: but *stand* does not always signify the posture; see an instance of this in John I. 26. [To *stand in arms* is no more than to *be in arms*. So in XI. 1. it is said of Adam and Eve that they *stood repentant*, that is

were repentant; for a little before it is said that they *prostrate fall*. That *fit* is right here, may appear from ver. 164, 420, 475. *Pearl*. *Sit ling'ring* to answer *fit contriving* before. While they *fit contriving*, shall the rest *fit ling'ring*?

69. *Mix'd with Tartarean sulphur,*
Mix'd

BOOK II. PARADISE LOST: 95

et such bethink them, if the sleepy drench
 of that forgetful lake benumm not still,
 that in our proper motion we ascend 75
 up to our native seat: descent and fall
 to us is adverse. Who but felt of late,
 when the fierce foe hung on our broken rear
 insulting, and pursued us through the deep,
 with what compulsion and laborious flight 80
 we sunk thus low? Th' ascent is easy then;
 th' event is fear'd; should we again provoke
 our stronger, some worse way his wrath may find
 to our destruction; if there be in Hell
 fear to be worse destroy'd: what can be worse 85
 than to dwell here, driv'n out from bliss, condemn'd
 in this abhorred deep to utter woe;
 Where pain of unextinguishable fire
 must exercise us without hope of end

The

exerc'd signifies *fill'd with*; it is an imitation of what Virgil says in *Æn.* II. 487.

At domus interior gemitu miseroque tumultu

Miscetur. Pearce.

89. *Must exercise us*] He uses

the word like the Latin *exercere*, which signifies to vex and trouble as well as to practice and employ: as in Virg. *Georg.* IV. 453.

Non te nullius exercent numinis ire.

P 4

90. *The*

The vassals of his anger, when the scourge . . . 90
 Inexorably, and the torturing hour
 Calls us to penance? More destroy'd than thus
 We should be quite abolish'd and expire.
 What fear we then? what doubt we to incense
 His utmost ire? which to the highth enrag'd, 95
 Will either quite consume us, and reduce
 To nothing this essential, happier far
 Than miserable to have eternal being:
 Or if our substance be indeed divine,

And

90. *The vassals of his anger,*] The Devils are the *vassals* of the Almighty, thence Mammon says, II. 352, *Our state of splendid vassalage.* And *the vassals of anger* is an expression confirm'd by Spenser in his *Tears of the Muses*,

Ah, wretched world, and all that
 are therein,
 The vassals of God's wrath, and
 slaves of sin.

But yet when I remember St. Paul's words, Rom. IX. 22. *The vessels of wrath fitted to destruction*, *Σκευα οργης*, I suspect that Milton here, as perpetually, kept close to the Scripture stile, and leave it to the reader's choice, *vassals* or *vessels*.

Bentley.

91. *Inexorably,*] In the first editions it is *Inexorably*, in others *Inexorable*: and it may be either,

the scourge inexorable or inexorably calls.

92. *Calls us to penance?*] To punishment. Our poet here supposes the sufferings of the damned Spirits not to be always alike intense, but that they have some intermissions.

Hunt.

97. — *happier far*
Than miserable to have eternal
being:] That it is better not to be than to be eternally miserable, our Saviour himself hath determin'd, Matth. XXVI. 24. Mark XIV. 21.

100. — *we are at worst]* We are in the worst condition we can be.

104. — *his fatal throu:*] That is *upheld by fate*, as he elsewhere expresses it, I, 133.

108. *To less than Gods.]* He gave it *To less than God*. For it was dangerous to the Angels.

Bentley.

This emendation appears very probable

And cannot cease to be, we are at worst 100

On this side nothing; and by proof we feel

Our pow'r sufficient to disturb his Heaven,

And with perpetual inroads to alarm,

Though inaccessible, his fatal throne :

Which if not victory is yet revenge. 105

He ended frowning, and his look denounc'd

Desp'rate revenge, and battel dangerous

To less than Gods. On th' other side up rose

Belial, in act more graceful and humane ;

A

bable at first view: but the Angels though often called *Gods*, yet sometimes are only compar'd or said to be like the Gods, as in I. 570.

Their visages and stature as of Gods :

and of the two chief, Michael and Satan, it is said VI. 301, that

— likest Gods they seem'd :

and of two others we read, VI. 366.

Two potent Thrones, that to be less than Gods

Disdain'd :

and in another place a manifest distinction is made between Gods and Angels who are called Demi-Gods, IX. 937.

But to be Gods, or Angels Demi-Gods :

and therefore the present reading *To less than Gods* may be justify'd.

109. *Belial, in act more graceful and humane;*] *Belial* is de-

scribed in the first book as the idol of the lewd and luxurious. He is in the second book, pursuant to that description, characterized as timorous and slothful; and if we look into the sixth book, we find him celebrated in the battel of Angels for nothing but that scoffing speech which he makes to Satan, on their supposed advantage over the enemy. As his appearance is uniform and of a piece in these three several views, we find his sentiments in the infernal assembly every way conformable to his character. Such are his apprehensions of a second battel, his horrors of annihilation; his preferring to be miserable rather than not to be. I need not observe, that

the

A fairer person lost not Heav'n; he seem'd 110
 For dignity compos'd and high exploit:
 But all was false and hollow; though his tongue
 Dropt Manna, and could make the worse appear
 The better reason, to perplex and dash
 Maturest counsels: for his thoughts were low; 115
 To vice industrious, but to nobler deeds
 Timorous and slothful: yet he pleas'd the ear,
 And with persuasive accent thus began.

I should be much for open war, O Peers,
 As not behind in hate; if what was urg'd 120
 Main reason to persuade immediate war,
 Did not dissuade me most, and seem to cast
 Ominous conjecture on the whole success:
 When he who most excels in fact of arms,
 In what he counsels and in what excels 125

Mistrustful,

the contrast of thought in this speech, and that which precedes, gives an agreeable variety to the debate.

Addison.

The fine contrast, which Mr. Addison observes there is betwixt the characters of Moloch and Belial, might probably be first suggested to our poet by a contrast of the same kind betwixt Argantes and Aletes in the second Canto of Tasso's Jerusalem. *Thyer.*

113. *Dropt Manna,*] The same expression, but apply'd differently, in Shakespear. *Merchant of Venice*, Act V.

Fair ladies, you *drop Manna* in the way
 Of starved people.

113. — *and could make the worse appear*

The better reason,] Word for word, from

Mistrustful, grounds his courage on despair
 And utter dissolution, as the scope
 Of all his aim, after some dire revenge.
 First, what revenge? the tow'rs of Heav'n are fill'd
 With armed watch, that render all access 130
 Impregnable; oft on the bord'ring deep
 Incamp their legions, or with obscure wing
 Scout far and wide into the realm of night,
 Scorning surprise. Or could we break our way
 By force, and at our heels all Hell should rise 135
 With blackest insurrection, to confound
 Heav'n's purest light, yet our great enemy
 All incorruptible would on his throne
 Sit unpolluted, and th' ethereal mold
 Incapable of stain would soon expel 140
 Her mischief, and purge off the baser fire

Victorious.

from the known profession of the ancient Sophists, *Τὸν λόγον τοῦ πᾶσι καὶ ἀποστολῆς ποιεῖν.* Bentley.

124.—*in feats of arms,*] Dr. Heylin says it is from the Italian *Fatto d'arme* a battel; or else we should read here *seats of arms*, as in ver. 537.

— with *seats of arms*
 From either end of Heav'n the
 welkin burns.

Or possibly the author might have given it *in seats of arms*, such errors of the press being very common and easy.

138.—*would on his throne*
Sit unpolluted,] 'Tis a reply to that part of Moloch's speech, where he had threaten'd to mix the throne itself of God with infernal sulphur and strange fire.

Victorious. Thus repuls'd, our final hope
 Is flat despair: we must exasperate
 Th'almighty victor to spend all his rage,
 And that must end us, that must be our cure, 145
 To be no more; sad cure; for who would lose,
 Though full of pain, this intellectual being,
 Those thoughts that wander through eternity,
 To perish rather, swallow'd up and lost
 In the wide womb of uncreated night, 150
 Devoid of sense and motion? and who knows,
 Let this be good, whether our angry foe
 Can give it, or will ever? how he can
 Is doubtful; that he never will is sure.
 Will he, so wise, let loose at once his ire, 155
 Belike through impotence, or unaware,
 To give his enemies their wish, and end

Them

151. *Devoid of sense and motion?*] Dr. Bentley reads *Devoid of sense and action*: but *motion* includes *action*. Mr. Warburton is of opinion, and so likewise is the learned Mr. Upton in his *Critical Observations upon Shakespear*, that it should be read *Devoid of sense and motion*: but the common reading seems better, as it is stronger and expresses more; they should be depriv'd not only of all *sense* but of

all *motion*, not only of all the intellectual but of all vital functions.

156. — *impotence*.] 'Tis here meant for the opposit to *wisdom*, and is used frequently by the Latin authors to signify a weakness of mind, an unsteadiness in the government of our passions, or the conduct of our designs. In this sense Cicero in *Epist. ad Fam. IX. 9.* says *Victoria ferociore. impotentia*
resque

Them in his anger, whom his anger saves
 To punish endless? Wherefore cease we then?
 Say they who counsel war, we are decreed, 160
 Reserv'd, and destin'd to eternal woe;
 Whatever doing, what can we suffer more,
 What can we suffer worse? Is this then worst,
 Thus sitting, thus consulting, thus in arms?
 What when we fled amain, pursued and struck 165
 With Heav'n's afflicting thunder, and besought
 The deep to shelter us? this Hell then seem'd
 A refuge from those wounds: or when we lay
 Chain'd on the burning lake? that sure was worse.
 What if the breath that kindled those grim fires, 170
 Awak'd should blow them into sev'nfold rage,
 And plunge us in the flames? or from above
 Should intermitted vengeance arm again

His

resque reddidit. and in Tusc. Disp. IV. 23. we read *Impotentia dictorum et factorum*: hence we often meet with *impotens animi, iræ, doloris &c.* and Horace in Od. I. XXXVII. 10. has *Quidlibet impotens sperare.* Pearce.

159. *Wherefore cease we then? &c.*] Belial is here proposing what is urged by those who counsel war; and then replies to it, *Is this then worst &c.* and shows that they had

been in a worse condition 165—
 169. *that sure was worst* and might be so again 170—186. *that would be worse.*

170. *What if the breath that kindled those grim fires,*

If. XXX. 33. *For Tophet is ordained of old, the pile thereof is fire—much wood, the breath of the Lord, like a stream of brimstone, shall kindle it.*

His red right hand to plague us? what if all
 Her stores were open'd, and this firmament 175
 Of Hell should spout her cataracts of fire,
 Impendent horrors, threatning hideous fall
 One day upon our heads; while we perhaps
 Designing or exhorting glorious war,
 Caught in a fiery tempest shall be hurl'd 180
 Each on his rock transfix'd, the sport and prey
 Of wracking whirlwinds, or for ever sunk
 Under yon boiling ocean, wrapt in chains;
 There to converse with everlasting groans,
 Unrespited, unpitied, unrepriev'd, 185
 Ages of hopeless end? this would be worse.
 War therefore, open or conceal'd, alike

My

174. *His red right hand*] So Horace says of Jupiter *rubente dextera*. But being spoken of *Vengeance*, it must be *her right hand*, as in the next line *her stores*. Bentley. There is something plausible and ingenious in this observation: but by *his* seems to have been meant *God's*, who is mention'd so often in the course of the debate, that he might very well be understood without being nam'd; and by *her stores* in the next line, I suppose, are meant *Hell's*, as mention is made afterwards of *her cataracts of fire*.

180. *Caught in a fiery tempest shall be hurl'd*
Each on his rock transfix'd,] Borrow'd of Virgil in his description of the fate of Ajax Oileus, *Æn.* 44, 45.

Illum expirantem transfixo pectus flammis
Turbine corripuit, scopuloque infixit acuto. *Ham.*

181. — *the sport and prey*
Of wracking whirlwinds,] *Virg.* *Æn.* VI. 75.

— *rapidis ludibria ventis.*

185. *Ur-*

My voice dissuades; for what can force or guile
 With him, or who deceive his mind, whose eye
 Views all things at one view? he from Heav'n's highth
 All these our motions vain sees and derides; 194
 Not more almighty to resist our might
 Than wise to frustrate all our plots and wiles.
 Shall we then live thus vile, the race of Heaven
 Thus trampled, thus expell'd to suffer here 195
 Chains and these torments? better these than worse
 By my advice; since fate inevitable
 Subdues us, and omnipotent decree,
 The victor's will. To suffer, as to do,
 Our strength is equal, nor the law unjust 200
 That so ordains: this was at first resolv'd,

If

185. *Unresistid, unpitied, unpriev'd,*] This way of introducing several adjectives beginning with the same letter without any conjunction is very frequent with the Greek tragedians, whom our author I fancy imitated. What strength and beauty it adds needs not be mention'd. *Tbyer.*

190. — *he from Heav'n's highth All these our motions vain sees and derides;*] Alluding to Psal. II. 4. *He that sitteth in the Heavens shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in derision. Nec hoc it pati unob-*

served that this is constantly Milton's way, and the true way of spelling *highth*, and not as commonly *height*, where what the *e* has to do or how it comes in it is not easy to apprehend.

199. *To suffer, as to do,*] *Et facere, et pati.* So Scævola boasted that he was a Roman, and knew as well how to suffer as to act. *Et facere et pati fortia Romanum est.* Liv. II. 12. So in Horace, Od. III. XXIV. 43. *Quidvis et facere et pati.*

If we were wise, against so great a foe
 Contending, and so doubtful what might fall.
 I laugh, when those who at the spear are bold
 And ventrous, if that fail them, shrink and fear 205
 What yet they know must follow, to indure
 Exile, or ignominy, or bonds, or pain,
 The sentence of their conqueror: this is now
 Our doom; which if we can sustain and bear,
 Our supreme foe in time may much remit 210
 His anger, and perhaps thus far remov'd
 Not mind us not offending, satisfy'd
 With what is punish'd; whence these raging fires
 Will slacken, if his breath stir not their flames.
 Our purer essence then will overcome 215
 Their noxious vapor, or inur'd not feel,
 Or chang'd at length, and to the place conform'd

In

220. *This horror will grow mild, this darkness light,*] 'Tis quite too much as Dr. Bentley says, that the darkness should turn into light: but *light*, I conceive, is an adjective here as well as *mild*; and the meaning is, This darkness will in time become easy, as this horror will grow mild; or as Mr. Thyer thinks, it is an adjective used in the same sense as when we say *It is a light night*. It is not well express'd, and the worse as it rhimes with the following line.

227. *Counsel'd ignoble ease,*] *Nil otium cum dignitate* as Cicero speaks. but as Virgil *ignobile otium*. *Studiis ignobilis otii*. Georg. IV. 764.

228. *Mammon speaks.*] *Mammon's* character is so fully drawn in the first book, that the poet adds nothing to it in the second. We was before told, that he was the first who taught mankind to ransack the earth for gold and silver, and that he was the architect of Satan's demonium.

HEAVEN PARADISE LOST. 235

In temper and in nature, will receive
Familiar the fierce heat, and void of pain;
This horror will grow mild, this darkness light,
Besides what hope the never-ending flight
Of future days may bring, what chance, what change
Worth waiting, since our present lot appears
For happy though but ill, for ill not worst,
If we procure not to ourselves more woe. 225

Thus Belial with words cloth'd in reason's garb
Counsel'd ignoble ease, and peaceful sloth,
Not peace: and after him thus Mammon spake.

Either to disenthroned the king of Heaven
We war; if war be best, or to regain
Our own right lost: him to unthroned we then
May hope, when everlasting Fate shall yield
To fickle Chance, and Chaos judge the strife:

The

demonium, or the infernal palace, where the evil Spirits were to meet in council. His speech in this book is every way suitable to so depraved a character. How proper is that reflection, of their being unable to taste the happiness of Heaven were they actually there, in the mouth of one, who while he was in Heaven, is said to have had his mind dazzled with the outward pomps and glories of the place, and to have been more intent on the riches of the

pavement, than on the beatific vision! I shall also leave the reader to judge how agreeable the following sentiments are to the same character,

— This deep world
Of darkness do we dread? How
oft amidst &c. Addison.

235.—and Chaos judge the strife:]
Between the king of Heaven and
us, not between Fate and Chance,
as Dr. Bentley supposes. Pearce.

Q 234 The

The former vain to hope argues as vain,
The latter: for what place can be for us 235
Within Heav'n's bound, unless Heav'n's Lord supreme
We overpow'r? Suppose he should relent,
And publish grace to all, on promise made
Of new subjection; with what eyes could we
Stand in his presence humble, and receive 240
Strict laws impos'd, to celebrate his throne
With warbled hymns, and to his Godhead sing
Forc'd Halleluiah's; while he lordly sits
Our envied sovran, and his altar breathes
Ambrosial odors and ambrosial flowers, 245

Book II. PARADISE LOST. 107

By force impossible, by leave obtain'd 250
Unacceptable, though in Heav'n, our state
Of splendid vassalage; but rather seek
Our own good from ourselves, and from our own
Live to ourselves, though in this vast recess,
Free, and to none accountable, preferring 255
Hard liberty before the easy yoke
Of servile pomp. Our greatness will appear
Then most conspicuous, when great things of small,
Useful of hurtful, prosp'rous of adverse
We can create, and in what place so e'er 260
Thrive under evil, and work ease out of pain
Through labor and indurance. This deep world
Of darkness do we dread? How oft amidst
Thick clouds and dark doth Heav'n's all-ruling Sire
Choose to reside, his glory unobscur'd, 265
And

Orube, see VIII. 517. Not unlike
is what we read in Fairfax's Tasso,
C. 18. St. 20.

Flowers and odors sweetly smell'd.

Pearce.

254. Live to ourselves,] Hor.
Epist. I. XVIII. 107.

— Ut mihi vivam

Quod superest zvi.

and Persius, Sat. IV. 52.

Tocum habita.

263. — How oft amidst
Thick clouds and dark &c.] Imita-
ted from Psal. XVIII. 11, 13. He
made darkness his secret place; his pa-
vilion round about him were dark
waters, and thick clouds of the skies
— The Lord also thundered in the
Heavens, and the Highest gave his
voice, hailstones and coals of fire.
And from Psal. XCVII. 2. Clouds
and darkness are round about him, &c.

And with the majesty of darkness round
 Covers his throne; from whence deep thunders roar
 Must ring their rage, and Heav'n resembles Hell?
 As he our darkness, cannot we his light
 Imitate when we please? This desert soil 270
 Wants not her hidden lustre, gems and gold;
 Nor want we skill or art, from whence to raise
 Magnificence; and what can Heav'n show more?
 Our torments also may in length of time
 Become our elements, these piercing fires 275
 As

274. *Our torments also may in
length of time*

— Peace is despair'd,
For who can think submission?

As soft as now severe, our temper chang'd
 Into their temper; which must needs remove
 The sensible of pain. All things invite
 To peaceful counsels, and the settled state
 Of order, how in safety best we may 280
 Compose our present evils, with regard
 Of what we are and where, dismissing quite
 All thoughts of war: ye have what I advise.

He scarce had finish'd, when such murmur fill'd
 Th' assembly, as when hollow rocks retain 285
 The

War therefore, open or conceal'd,
 alike

My voice dissuades; for what can
 force or guile &c.

Mammon carries on the same arguments, and is for *dismissing quite all thoughts of war*. So that the question is changed in the course of the debate, whether thro' the inattention or intention of the author it is not easy to say.

281. — with regard

Of *what we are and where*,] It is thus in the first edition: in the second edition it is, *with regard of what we are and were*: and it is varied sometimes the one and sometimes the other in the subsequent editions. If we read *with regard of what we are and were*, the sense is, with regard to our present and our past condition; If we read *with regard of what we are and*

where, the sense is, with regard to our present condition and the place where we are; which latter seems much better.

285. — *as when hollow rocks retain &c*] Virgil compares the assent given by the assembly of the Gods to Juno's speech, Æn. X. 96. to the rising wind, which our author assimilates to its decreasing murmurs,

— cunctique fremebant
 Cælicolæ assensu vario: ceu flamma prima,
 Cum deprensa fremunt sylvis, et
 cæca volutant
 Murmura, venturos nautis pro-
 dentia ventos. *Hume.*

The conduct of both poets is equally just and proper. The intent of Juno's speech was to rouse and inflame the assembly of the Gods, and the effect of it is therefore properly

The found of blust'ring winds, which all night long
Had rous'd the sea, now with hoarse cadence lull
Sea-faring men o'erwatch'd, whose bark by chance
Or pinnace anchors in a craggy bay
After the tempest: Such applause was heard 290
As Mammon ended, and his sentence pleas'd,
Advising peace: for such another field
They dreaded worse than Hell: so much the fear
Of thunder and the sword of Michaël
Wrought still within them; and no less desire 295
To found this nether empire, which might rise
By policy, and long process of time,

habitation opposit to Heaven.

When Beëlzebub perceiv'd, than whom,
except, none higher sat, with grave 300

That he rose, and in his rising seem'd
Baron of state; deep on his front engraven
Princely counsel in his face yet shone,
Majestic though in ruin: sage he stood 305

Atlantean shoulders fit to bear
The weight of mightiest monarchies; his look
Audience and attention still as night
Summer's noon-tide air, while thus he spake.

Thrones

and Peter, and John are
vers in Gal. II. 9. And we
same expression in Shake-
Hea. VI. A & I.

peers of England, pillars of
state.

Majestic though in ruin:] It
is how even the greatest
such as Dr. Bentley, can
mistake the most obvious
These words are to be
construction with his face,
with princely counsel, as the
nagin'd.

With Atlantean shoulders]
hor to expres his vast ca-
lulus was so great an affro-
that he is said to have
leaven on his shoulders.

The whole picture from ver. 299.
to the end of the paragraph is ad-
mirable! *Richardson.*

309. Or summer's noon-tide air,]
Noon-tide is the same as noon-time,
when in hot countries there is hard-
ly a breath of wind stirring, and
men and beasts, by reason of the
intense heat, retire to shade and
rest. This is the custom of Italy
particularly, where our author liv'd
some time.

309. — while thus he spake.]
Beëlzebub, who is reckon'd the se-
cond in dignity that fell, and is, in
the first book, the second that
awakens out of the trance, and
confers with Satan upon the situa-
tion of their affairs, maintains his
rank in the book now before us.

Q4

There

Thrones and Imperial Pow'rs; Offspring of Heaven,
 Ethereal Virtues; or these titles now 311
 Must we renounce, and changing stile be call'd
 Princes of Hell? for so the popular vote
 Inclines, here to continue', and build up here
 A growing empire; doubtless; while we dream, 315
 And know not that the king of Heav'n hath doom'd
 This place our dungeon, not our safe retreat
 Beyond his potent arm, to live exempt
 From Heav'n's high jurisdiction, in new league
 Banded against his throne, but to remain 320
 In strictest bondage, though thus far remov'd,
 Under

There is a wonderful majesty described in his rising up to speak. He acts as a kind of moderator between the two opposite parties, and proposes a third undertaking, which the whole assembly gives into. The motion he makes of detaching one of their body in search of a new world is grounded upon a project devised by Satan, and cursorily proposed by him in the following lines of the first book, Space may produce new worlds, &c. ver. 650.

It is on this project that *Beelzebub* grounds his proposal,

— What if we find
 Some easier enterprise? &c.
 The reader may observe how just

it was not to omit in the first book the project upon which the whole poem turns: as also that the prince of the fallen Angels was the only proper person to give it birth, and that the next to him in dignity was the fittest to second and support it. There is besides, I think, something wonderfully beautiful, and very apt to affect the reader's imagination in this ancient prophecy or report in Heaven, concerning the creation of Man. Nothing could show more the dignity of the species, than this tradition which ran of them before their existence. They are represented to have been the talk of Heaven, before they were created. Virgil, in compliment to the Roman commonwealth, make

der th' inevitable curb, reserv'd
 s captive multitude: for he, be sure,
 highth or depth, still first and last will reign,
 e king, and of his kingdom lose no part. 325
 our revolt, but over Hell extend
 s empire, and with iron scepter rule
 here, as with his golden those in Heaven.
 hat fit we then projecting peace and war?
 ar hath determin'd us, and foil'd with loss. 330
 eparable; terms of peace yet none
 uchsaf'd or fought; for what peace will be given
 us inflav'd, but custody severe,

And

res the heroes of it appear in
 r. state of præexistence; but
 ton does a far greater honor to
 kind in general, as he gives us
 imple of them even before they
 in being. *Addison.*

27.—and with iron scepter rule
 Is here, as with his golden those in
 Heaven.] The iron scepter
 allusion to Psal. II. 9. as that
 sold to Esther V. 2. *Hume.*

29. *What fit we then projecting
 peace and war?*] Dr. Bent-
 reads *peace or war*: Dr. Pearce
 , perhaps better *peace in war*:
 there seems to be no necessity
 an alteration. It was a debate
 peace and war. Peace as well
 war was the subject of their de-
 . And *what* seems to be used

here like the Latin *Quid*, which
 signifies both what and why.

332. *Vouchsaf'd*] Milton constantly writes this verb *vouchsafes*, and this is rather of a softer sound, but the other seems more agreeable to the etymology of the word.

332.—for what peace will be given
 To us inflav'd, but custody severe?

— and what peace can we return
 But to our pow'r hostility and hate?]

In both these passages there is an unusual construction of the particle *but*; it seems to put *custody severe* &c in the one, and *hostility and hate* &c in the other on the foot of peace. There are some very few instances where the Latins have used *nisi* (except, or but) in a like construction. One is in *Plautus's*
 Mc-

And stripes, and arbitrary punishment
 Inflicted? and what peace can we return, 335
 But to our pow'r hostility and hate,
 Untam'd reluctance, and revenge though slow,
 Yet ever plotting how the conqu'ror least
 May reap his conquest, and may least rejoice
 In doing what we most in suffering feel? 340
 Nor will occasion want, nor shall we need
 With dang'rous expedition to invade
 Heav'n, whose high walls fear no assault or siege,
 Or ambush from the deep. What if we find
 Some easier enterprise? There is a place, 345
 (If ancient and prophetic fame in Heaven

Err

Mensachmi Prol. 59. Ei liberorum, nisi divitiæ, nihil erat. Lambinus says this expression seems too unusual, for the particle nisi can except none but things like, or of a like kind. Richardson.

352. — and by an oath,
[That shook Heav'n's whole circumference, confirm'd.] He confirm'd it by an oath are the very words of St. Paul, Heb. VI. 17. and this oath is said to shake Heav'n's whole circumference in allusion to Jupiter's oath in Virgil, Æn. IX. 104.

Dixerat: idque ratum Stygii per flumina fratris,

*Per pice torrentis atraque voragine ripas
 Annuit, et totum natu tremefacti Olympum.*

To seal his sacred vow, by Styx he swore,
 The lake with liquid pitch, the dreary shore,
 And Phlegethon's innavigable flood,
 And the black regions of his brother God:
 He said; and shook the skies with his imperial nod.

Dryden.

As

or not) another world, the happy seat
 of some new race call'd Man, about this time
 to be created like to us, though less
 in pow'r and excellence, but favor'd more 350
 of him who rules above; so was his will
 pronounc'd among the Gods, and by an oath,
 that shook Heav'n's whole circumference, confirm'd.
 Thither let us bend all our thoughts, to learn
 What creatures there inhabit, of what mold 355
 or substance, how indued, and what their power,
 and where their weakness, how attempted best,
 by force or subtlety. Though Heav'n be shut,
 and Heav'n's high arbitrator sit secure

In

as Virgil had imitated Homer,
Iad. I. 528.

Η, και κυανεισιν επ' οφρυσιν ευσε
 Κροτων·

Αμφοροισι δ' αρα χασται επιρω-
 σαλο ανακίθη

Κρατ' απ' αθανατοισ' μεγαυ
 δ' ελειξεν Ολυμπου.

He spoke, and awful bends his
 fable brows;
 Shakes his ambrosial curls, and
 gives the nod,
 The stamp of fate, and sanction
 of the God;

High Heav'n with trembling the
 dread signal took,
 And all Olympus to the center
 shook. Pope.

All the three poets, we see, men-
 tion the shaking of Heaven, only
 Milton attributes that effect to the
oath, which Homer and Virgil
 ascribe to the *nod* of Jupiter: but
 the circumstance of the *nod* seems
 to be rightly omitted in this place,
 because God is not here giving his
 assent to any one's petition, which
 is the case in Homer and Virgil,
 but only pronouncing his will among
 the Angels.

In his own strength, this place may lie expos'd, 360
 The utmost border of his kingdom, left
 To their defense who hold it: here perhaps
 Some advantageous act may be achiev'd
 By sudden onset, either with Hell fire
 To waste his whole creation, or possess 365
 All as our own, and drive, as we were driven,
 The puny habitants, or if not drive,
 Seduce them to our party, that their God
 May prove their foe, and with repenting hand
 Abolish his own works. This would surpass 370
 Common revenge, and interrupt his joy
 In our confusion, and our joy upraise
 In his disturbance; when his darling sons,

Hurl'd

360.— *this place may lie expos'd,
 The utmost border of his kingdom, left
 To their defense who hold it:]* It
 has been objected, that there is a
 contradiction between this part of
 Beelzebub's speech, and what he
 says afterwards, speaking of the
 same thing and of a messenger pro-
 per to be sent in search of this new
 world, ver. 410.

—what strength, what art can then
 Suffice, or what evasion bear him
 safe.

Through the strict senteries and
 stations thick

Of Angels watching round?

How can this earth be said to lie
 expos'd &c, and yet to be strictly
 guarded by station'd Angels? The
 objection is very ingenious: but it
 is not said, that the earth *shall* lie
 expos'd, but only that it *may* lie
 expos'd: and it may be consider'd,
 that the design of Beelzebub is dif-
 ferent in these different speeches;
 in the former, where he is encour-
 aging the assembly to undertake
 an expedition against this world,
 he says things to *lessen* the dif-
 culty and danger; but in the lat-
 ter,

d headlong to partake with us, shall curse
 : frail original, and faded bliss, 375
 d so soon. Advise if this be worth
 npting, or to sit in darkness here
 hing vain empires. Thus Beëlzebub
 led his devilish counsel, first devis'd
 atan, and in part propos'd: for whence, 380
 rom the author of all ill, could spring
 ep a malice, to confound the race
 nankind in one root, and Earth with Hell
 ngle and involve, done all to spite
 great Creator? But their spite still serves 385
 glory to augment. The bold design
 'd highly those infernal States, and joy

Sparkled

when they have determin'd
 the expedition, and are con-
 sider'd of a proper person to em-
 ploy it, then he says things to
 show the difficulty and danger,
 and make them more cautious in
 choice.

1. — *here perhaps*] Dr. Bent-
 ley says that Milton must have given
perhaps: but I think not:
 l. 360 it is *this place*, and
 before Milton gave it *here*, that
 the place which I am speak-
 ing of. Milton frequently uses *now*
 and *then*, not meaning a time or
 place then present to him or his

speakers *when* they are speaking;
 but that time and that place, which
 he or they are speaking of.

Pearce.

367. *The puny habitants,*] It is
 possible that the author by *puny*
 might mean no more than weak or
 little; but yet if we reflect how
 frequently he uses words in their
 proper and primary signification,
 it seems probable that he might in-
 clude likewise the sense of the
 French (from whence it is deriv'd)
puis né, born since, created long
 after us.

Sparkled in all their eyes; with full assent
They vote: whereat his speech he thus renews.

Well have ye judg'd, well ended long debate, 390
Synod of Gods, and like to what ye are,
Great things resolv'd, which from the lowest deep
Will once more lift us up, in spite of fate,
Nearer our ancient seat; perhaps in view
Of those bright confines, whence with neighb'ring arms
And opportune excursion we may chance 396
Re-enter Heav'n; or else in some mild zone
Dwell not unvisited of Heav'n's fair light
Secure, and at the brightning orient beam
Purge off this gloom; the soft delicious air, 400
To heal the scar of these corrosive fires,
Shall breathe her balm. But first whom shall we send
In search of this new world? whom shall we find
Sufficient? who shall tempt with wand'ring feet

The

406. — *the palpable obscure*] It is remarkable in our author's style, that he often uses adjectives as substantives, and substantives again as adjectives. Here are two adjectives, the latter of which is used for a substantive, as again in ver. 409, *the vast abrupt*. And sometimes there are two substantives, the former of which is used for an ad-

jective, as *the ocean stream*, I. 202. *the bullion dross*, I. 704. Milton often enriches his language in this manner.

409. — *ere he arrives*
The happy ile?] The earth, hanging in the sea of air, like a happy, or fortunate island, as the name is. And so Cicero De Nat. Deor. II.

Book II. PARADISE LOST.

119

The dark unbottom'd infinite abyss, 405

and through the palpable obscure find out

his uncouth way, or spread his acry flight

borne with indefatigable wings

over the vast abrupt, ere he arrive

the happy ile? what strength, what art can then 410

office, or what evasion bear him safe

through the strict senteries and stations thick

of Angels watching round? Here he had need

all circumspection, and we now no less

choice in our suffrage; for on whom we send, 415

the weight of all and our last hope relies.

This said, he sat; and expectation held

his look suspense, awaiting who appear'd

to second, or oppose, or undertake

the perilous attempt: but all sat mute, 420

and ring the danger with deep thoughts; and each

12

calls the earth quasi magnam
undam insulam, quam nos or-
a terræ vocamus. *Ere he ar-*
the happy ile; so the word *ar-*
is used by our author in the
face to the *Judgment of Martin*
er, p. 276. Edit. 1738. "And
e, if our things here below
arrive him where he is &c." and
in in his *Treatise of civil power*

in ecclesiastical causes, p. 553, "Let
"him also forbear force — lest a
"worse woe *arrive him*." And
Shakespear expresses himself in the
same manner 3 Hen. VI. A & V.

— those powers, that the Queen
Hath rais'd in Gallia, *have arriv'd*
our coast.

420. — but

In others count'nance read his own dismay
Astonish'd: none among the choice and prime
Of those Heav'n-warring champions could be found
So hardy as to proffer or accept 425
Alone the dreadful voyage; till at last
Satan, whom now transcendent glory rais'd
Above his fellows, with monarchal pride
Conscious of highest worth, unmov'd thus spake.

O Progeny of Heav'n, empyreal Thrones, 430
With reason hath deep silence and demur
Seis'd us, though undismay'd: long is the way
And hard, that out of Hell leads up to light;

Ninefold, and gates of burning adamant
 Barr'd over us prohibit all egress.
 Thus pass'd, if any pass, the void profound
 Of unessential Night receives him next
 Wide gaping, and with utter loss of being
 Threatens him, plung'd in that abortive gulf,
 If thence he scape into whatever world,
 Or unknown region, what remains him less
 Than unknown dangers, and as hard escape?
 But I should ill become this throne, O Peers,
 And this imperial sovereignty, adorn'd
 With splendor, arm'd with pow'r, if ought propos'd
 And judg'd of public moment, in the shape
 Of difficulty or danger could deter

Me

ming these round *ninefold*, and of the gates of burning adamant, he alludes to what Virgil says in the same book, of Styx flowing nine times round the damn'd, and of the gates of Hell.

— *novies Styx interfusa coerct.*

ver. 439.

Porta adversa ingens solideque adamantis columnæ. ver. 552.

434. — *this huge convex of fire.*] This huge vault of fire, bending down on all sides round us. *Convex* is spoken properly of the exterior surface of a globe, and *concave* of

the interior surface which is hollow: but the poets do not always speak thus exactly, but use them promiscuously; and hence in Virgil *cali convexa* and *supera convexa* in several places. And what is here the *convex* of fire is afterwards call'd the *fery concave*, ver. 635.

438. — *the void profound*] *Inana profundum*, as Lucretius has it in several places.

439. *Of unessential Night*] *Unessential*, void of being; darkness approaching nearest to, and being the best resemblance of non-entity.

Thine.

Me from attempting. Wherefore do' I assume 450
These royalties, and not refuse to reign,
Refusing to accept as great a share
Of hazard as of honor, due alike
To him who reigns, and so much to him due
Of hazard more, as he above the rest 455
High honor'd fits? Go therefore mighty Powers,
Terror of Heav'n, though fall'n; intend at home,
While here shall be our home, what best may ease
The present misery, and render Hell
More tolerable; if there be cure or charm 460
To respite, or deceive, or slack the pain

Against a warrior in what I demand
 Through all the ranks of our instruction
 Delivered in what the monarch
 None find more worth our time among the
 The monarch, and presented at the
 student, and from the monarch's
 Others among the ranks of our
 Certain it is that I would not have
 had to suffer I might at which point
 His rival, winning every the high
 Which he should have done much more. But they
 dreaded not more the monarch's
 forbidding; and at once with him they rose; 465

Their

Why on that there are we with
 joy follow'd,
 Admir'd as heroes, and as Gods
 obey'd?
 Unless great acts superior merit
 prove,
 And vindicate the boundless
 pow'rs above.
 'Tis our's, the dignity they give,
 to grace;
 The first in valor, as the first in
 place. &c. Pope.

This is one of the noblest and best-
 spirited speeches in the whole Iliad:
 ut (as Mr. Hume says) is as much
 talk'd in the imitation, as a Sera-

phim is inferior to a Min. And
 is it not a probable presumption
 that Milton (whose choice of Kings
 is very well known) by putting
 that sentence into the mouth of
 the king of Hell intended an oblique
 hint upon the kings of the Earth,
 whose practice is to often directly
 contrary to them?

465. — *this interprets*
Now shall perseiv' with us. The
 abruptness of Satan's conclusion is
 very well express'd by the speech
 breaking off in the middle of the
 verse.

Their rising all at once was as the sound
 Of thunder heard remote. Tow'ards him they bend
 With awful reverence prone; and as a God
 Extol him equal to the Hig'hest in Heaven:
 Nor fail'd they to express how much they prais'd,
 That for the general safety he despis'd
 His own: for neither do the Spirits damn'd

481

Lose

476. *Their rising all at once was
 as the sound*

Of thunder heard remote.] The
 rising of this great assembly is de-
 scribed in a very sublime and poeti-
 cal manner. Addison.

482 — *lest had men should boast &c.*]

that, and made that remark to pre-
 vent their *boasting*. Pearce.
 As our author has drawn Satan
 with some remains of the beauty,
 so he represents him likewise with
 some of the other perfections of
 an Arch-Angel; and herein he has
 follow'd the rule of Aristotle in his

Lose all their virtue; lest bad men should boast
 Their specious deeds on earth, which glory' excites,
 Or close ambition varnish'd o'er with zeal. 485

Thus they their doubtful consultations dark
 Ended rejoicing in their matchless chief:

As when from mountain tops the dusky clouds

Ascending, while the north-wind sleeps, o'er-spread

Heav'n's

Ως δ' ὅτ' ἀρ' ὑψηλῆς κορυφῆς ο-
 ρμῆς μεγαλοῖο
 Κιπῶσι πυκνῶν νεφελῶν στροπῆ-
 γερῶτα Ζεὺς,
 Ἐκ τ' ἔρανον πασαι σκοπῖαι, καὶ
 πρῶτον ἀκροῖ,
 Καὶ γαῖαι, κρονοῖεν δ' ἀρ' ὑπερ-
 ούρου ἀσπετῆ αἰθρῆ.

So when thick clouds inwrap the
 mountain's head,
 O'er Heav'n's expanse like one
 black cieling spread;
 Sudden, the Thund'rer with a
 flashing ray,
 Bursts through the darkness, and
 lets down the day:
 The hills shine out, the rocks in
 prospect rise,
 And streams, and vales, and fo-
 rests strike the eyes,
 The smiling scene wide opens to
 the sight,
 And all th' unmeasur'd æther
 flames with light.

Mr. Pope translates it as if Jupiter
 lighten'd, which makes it a horrid
 rather than a pleasing scene; but

Homer says only that he remov'd
 the thick clouds from the mountain
 top, and so it is explained in the
 note of Pope's Homer, which
 shows that the translation and notes
 were not always made by the same
 person. We have a simile too,
 much of the same nature in a Son-
 net of Spenser, as Mr. Thyer hath
 observed. Sonnet 40.

Mark when she smiles with amiable
 cheer,
 And tell me whereto can you liken
 it:
 When on each eye-lid sweetly do
 appear
 An hundred Graces as in shade
 to sit.
 Likest it seemeth, in my simple wit,
 Unto the fair sun-shine in sum-
 mer's day;
 That when a dreadful storm away
 is flit,
 Through the broad world doth
 spread his goodly ray:
 At sight whereof each bird that sits
 on spray,
 And every beast that to his den
 was fled,

Heav'n's chearful face, the lowering element 490
 Scowls o'er the darken'd landskip snow, or shower;
 If chance the radiant sun with farewell sweet
 Extend his evening beam, the fields revive,
 The birds their notes renew, and bleating herds
 Attest their joy, that hill and valley rings. 495
 O shame to men! Devil with Devil damn'd
 Firm concord holds, men only disagree
 Of creatures rational, though under hope
 Of heav'nly grace: and God proclaiming peace,
 Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife 500
 Among themselves, and levy cruel wars,
 Wasting the earth, each other to destroy:
 As if (which might induce us to accord)

Man

Come forth afresh out of their late
 dismay,

And to the light lift up their
 drooping head.

So my storm-beaten heart likewise
 is cheared,

With that sun-shine, when cloudy
 looks are cleared.

See also a simile of the same kind
 in Boethius De Consol. L. 1. and in
 Dante's Inferno. C. 24.

489. — *spread*
Heav'n's chearful face,] Spenser,
 Fairy Queen, B. 2. Cant. 12. St. 34.

And Heaven's chearful face en-
 veloped. *Thyoo.*

494. — *bleating herds*]: Dr. Ben-
 ley reads *flocks*, and says that *herd*
 is a word proper to cattel, that do
 not *bleat*. But *herd* is originally the
 common name for a number of any
 sort of cattel: Hence *Shepherd*,
 that is *Sheepherdsman*, see VII. 462.

Paras.

— *Bleating herds* is much such an ex-
 pression as Spenser's *fleecy cattel* in
Colin Clouts come home again.

496. *O shame to men! &c.*] This
 reflection will appear the more per-
 tinent and natural, when one con-
 siders the contentious age, in which
 Milton liv'd and wrote. *Thyoo.*

Man had not hellish foes, enow besides,
That day and night for his destruction wait. 505

The Stygian council thus dissolv'd; and forth
In order came the grand infernal peers:
Midst came their mighty paramount, and seem'd
Alone th' antagonist of Heav'n, nor less
Than Hell's dread emperor with pomp supreme, 510
And God-like imitated state; him round
A globe of fiery Seraphim inclos'd
With bright emblazonry, and horrent arms.
Then of their session ended they bid cry
With trumpets regal sound the great result: 515
Tow'ards the four winds four speedy Cherubim
Put to their mouths the sounding alchemy

By

512. *A globe of fiery Seraphim*] A
lobe signifies here a battalion in
circle surrounding him, as Virgil
says, *Æn. X. 373.*

— *qua globus ille virum densissimus urget.*

513. — *horrent arms.*] *Horrent*
excludes the idea both of terrible
and prickly, set up like the bristles
of a wild boar.

Horrentia Martis arma.

Virg. *Æn. I.*

— *densos acie atque horrentibus
hastis.*

Æn. X. 178.

517. — *the sounding alchemy*]

Dr. Bentley reads *orichalc*: but since
he allows that *gold and silver coin,*
as well as brass and pewter, are al-
chemy, being mix'd metals, for that
reason *alchemy* will do here; espe-
cially being join'd to the epithet
sounding, which determines it to mean
a trumpet, made perhaps of the
mix'd metals of brass, silver, &c.

Pearce.

Alchemy, the name of that art
which is the sublimer part of che-
mistry, the transmutation of me-
tals. Milton names no particular
metal, but leaves the imagination
at large, any metal possible to be
produced by that mysterious art;

By heralds voice explain'd; the hollow' abyſs
 Heard far and wide, and all the hoſt of Hell
 With deafning ſhout return'd them loud acclame. 520
 Thence more at eaſe their minds, and ſomewhat
 rais'd

By falſe preſumptuous hope, the ranged Powers
 Diſband, and wand'ring, each his ſeveral way
 Purſues, as inclination or ſad choice
 Leads him perplex'd, where he may likeliſt find 525
 Truce to his reſtleſs thoughts, and entertain

The

This is a metonymy, the efficient for arms, with their entertainments in

'he irksome hours, till his great chief return. . . .
 art on the plain, or in the air sublime,
 'pon the wing, or in swift race contend,
 s at th' Olympian games or Pythian fields; 536
 art curb their fiery steeds, or shun the goal
 With rapid wheels, or fronted brigads form.
 s when to warn proud cities war appears
 Vag'd in the troubled sky, and armies rush
 'o battel in the clouds, before each van 535
 rick forth the aery knights, and couch their spears

Till

e images are rais'd in proportion
 the nature of the beings who are
 re described. We may suppose
 o that the author had an eye to
 e diversions and entertainments
 the departed heroes in Virgil's
 lyfium, *Æn.* VI. 642.

'ars in gramineis exercent mem-
 bra palæstris,
 Contendunt ludo, et fulvâ luctan-
 tur arenâ :
 Pars pedibus plaudunt choreas, et
 carmina dicunt, &c.

Their aery limbs in sports they
 exercise,
 And on the green contend the
 wrestler's prize.
 Some in heroic verse divinely sing;
 Others in artful measures lead the
 ring. &c. Dryden.

531. . . . or shun the goal

With rapid wheels,] Plainly taken
 from Horace, *Od.* I. I. 4-

Metaque fervidis evitata rotis.
 But with good judgment he says
rapid not *fervid*: because in these
 Hell-games both the wheels and
 the burning marble they drove on
 were *fervid* even before the race.

Bentley.
 534. *Wag'd in the troubled sky,]*
 So Shakespear in 1 Hen IV. Act I.
 calls these appearances

—the meteors of a troubled Heaven.

536. — and couch their spears]
 Fix them in their rests. *Couch* from
coucher (French) to place. A rest
 was made in the breast of the ar-
 mour, and was call'd a *rest* from
arrester (French) to stay. *Richardson.*

539. Others

Till thick'ning legions close; with seats of arms
 From either end of Heav'n the welkin burns.
 Others with vast Typhoean rage more fell
 Rend up both rocks and hills, and ride the air 540
 In whirlwind; Hell scarce holds the wild uproar.
 As when Alcides, from Oechalia crown'd
 With conquest, seiz'd th' envenom'd robe, and tore
 Through pain up by the roots Theſſalian pines,
 And Licbas from the top of Oeta threw 545
 Into

539. *Others with vast Typhoean rage* &c.] Others with rage like that of Typhoeus or Typhon, one of the giants who warred against Heaven, of whom see before l. 109. The contrast here is very remarkable. Some are employ'd in sportive games and exercises, while others rend up both rocks and hills, and make wild uproar. Some again are singing in a valley, while others are discoursing and arguing on a hill; and these are represented as *sitting*, while others march different ways to discover that infernal world. Every company is drawn in contrast both to that which goes before, and that which follows.

542. *As when Alcides, &c.*] As when Hercules named *Alcides* from his grandfather Alcæus, from *Oechalia* crown'd with conquest, after his return from the conquest of Oechalia a city of Bœotia, having brought with him from thence Iole

the king's daughter, *seiz'd th' envenom'd robe*, which was sent him by Deianira in jealousy of his new mistress, and stuck so close to his skin that he could not pull off the one without pulling off the other; *and tore through pain up by the roots Theſſalian pines, and Licbas* who had brought him the poison'd robe, *from the top of Oeta*, a mountain in the borders of Theſſaly, *threw it to th' Euboic sea*, the sea near Eubœa an island in the Archipelago. The madness of Hercules was a subject for tragedy among the ancients (*HERCULES MÊLANTHOS* by Euripides, *Hercules furens* by Seneca), but our author has compressed the principal circumstances in this similitude, and seems more particularly to have copied Ovid, *Mét.* l. IX. 136.

Victor ah Oechalia——&c.

But as Mr. Thyer rightly observes Milton in this simile falls vastly short

Into th' Euboic sea. Others more mild,
 Retreated in a silent valley, sing
 With notes angelical to many a harp
 Their own heroic deeds and hapless fall
 By doom of battel; and complain that fate 550
 Free virtue should intrall to force or chance.
 Their song was partial, but the harmony
 (What could it less when Spi'rits immortal sing?)
 Suspended Hell, and took with ravishment.

The

Short of his usual sublimity and propriety. How much does the image of Alcides tearing up Thesalian pines &c sink below that of the Angels rending up both rocks and hills, and riding the air in whirlwind! and how faintly and insignificantly does the allusion end with the low circumstance of Lichas being thrown into the Euboic sea!

550. — and complain that fate
 Free virtue should intrall to force
 or chance.] This is taken from the famous distich of Euripides, which Brutus used, when he slew himself;

Ω ΤΛΗΜΟΣ ΑΡΩΤΗ, ΛΟΓΩ ΑΡ' ΗΔ',
 ΟΥΩ ΔΕ ΣΙ
 ΩΙ ΕΡΓΑ ΝΕΚΗ' ΕΥ Δ' ΑΡ' ΕΘΕ-
 ΛΟΥΣΑΙ ΒΙΩ.

In some places for βία, force it is quoted τυχή fortune. Milton has well comprehended both, intrall to force or chance. Bentley.

554. *Suspended Hell*] The effect of their singing is somewhat like that of Orpheus in Hell, Virg. Georg. IV. 481.

Quin ipse stupere domus, atque
 intima lethi
 Tartara, ceruleosque implaxæ cri-
 nibus angus
 Eumenides, tenuitque inhians tris
 Cerberus ora,
 Atque Ixionii vento rota constitit
 orbita.

E'en from the depths of Hell the
 damn'd advance,
 Th' infernal mansions nodding
 seem to dance;
 The gaping three-mouth'd dog
 forgets to snarl,
 The Furies hearken, and their
 snakes uncurl;
 Ixion secms no more his pain to
 feel,
 But leans attentive on his standing
 wheel. Dryden.

The

The thronging audience. In discourse more sweet 555
(For eloquence the soul, song charms the sense,)

Others apart sat on a hill retir'd,

In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high

Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,

Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute, 560

And found no end, in wand'ring mazes lost.

Of good and evil much they argued then,

Of happiness and final misery,

Passion and apathy, and glory' and shame,

Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy: 565

Yet

The harmony suspended Hell; but is it not much better with the parenthesis coming between? which suspends as it were the event, raises the reader's attention, and gives a greater force to the sentence.

But the harmony
(What could it less when Spirits
immortal sing?)
Suspended Hell, &c.

555. — *In discourse more sweet*] Our poet so justly prefers discourse to the highest harmony, that he has seated his reasoning Angels on a hill as high and elevated as their thoughts, leaving the songsters in their humble valley. *Hume.*

559. — *foreknowledge, will, and fate,*

Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute.] The turn of the words here is admirable, and very well expresses the wand'ring and mazes of their discourse. And the turn of the words is greatly improv'd, and render'd still more beautiful by the addition of an epithet to each of them.

565. *Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy:*] *Good and evil, and de finibus bonorum et malorum, &c.* were more particularly the subjects of disputation among the philosophers and sophists of old, as *providence, free will, &c.* were among the school-men and divines of later times, especially upon the introduction of the free notions of Arminius upon these subjects: and our author shows herein what an opinion

Yet with a pleasing forcery could charm
 Pain for a while, or anguish, and excite
 Fallacious hope, or arm th' obdured breast
 With stubborn patience as with triple steel.
 Another part in squadrons and gross bands,
 On bold adventure to discover wide
 That dismal world, if any clime perhaps
 Might yield them easier habitation, bend
 Their ways their flying march, along the banks
 Of four infernal rivers, that disgorge
 Into the burning lake their baleful streams;
 Abhorred

union he had of all books and
 arning of this kind.

568. — *th' obdured breast*] So we
 find in Milton's own editions, and
 not *obdurate*, as it is in Dr. Beatty's,
 Mr. Fenton's, and others: the
 same word is used again in
 l. 785.

Thus saw his hapless foes, but
 stood obdur'd.

569. — *with triple steel.*] An
 imitation of Horace, Od. I. III.
 10.

Illi robur, et æs triplex
 Circa pectus erat, &c.

his breast was armed with the
 strength of threefold brass, only
 the poet useth the hardest metal of
 two. *Hume.*

572. *That dismal world,*] The
 several circumstances in the descrip-
 tion of Hell are finely imagin'd: the
 four rivers which disgorge them-
 selves into the sea of fire, the ex-
 tremes of cold and heat, and the
 river of oblivion. The monstrous
 animals produced in that infernal
 world are represented by a single
 line, which gives us a more horrid
 idea of them, than a much longer
 description of them would have
 done. This episode of the fallen
 Spirits and their place of habitation
 comes in very happily to unbend
 the mind of the reader from its at-
 tention to the debate. An ordi-
 nary poet would indeed have spun
 out so many circumstances to a great
 length, and by that means have
 weaken'd, instead of illustrated, the
 principal fable. *Addison.*

577. *Abhorred*

Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate ;
 Sad Acheron of sorrow, black and deep ;
 Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation loud
 Heard on the rueful stream ; fierce Phlegethon, 560
 Whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage.
 Far off from these a flow and silent stream,
 Lethe the river of oblivion rolls
 Her watry labyrinth, whereof who drinks,

Forthwith

577. *Abhorred Styx, &c.*] The Greeks reckon up five rivers in Hell, and call them after the names of the noxious springs and rivers in their own country. Our poet follows their example both as to the number and the names of these infernal rivers, and excellently describes their nature and properties with the explanation of their names. *Styx* so named of a Greek word *στυγιω* that signifies to *hate* and *abhor*, and therefore called here *Abhorred Styx, the flood of deadly hate*, and by *Virgil palus inamabilis*, *Æn. VI. 438*. *Acheron* has its name from *αχος* *dolor* and *ρω* *fluo*, *flowing with grief*; and is represented accordingly *Sad Acheron, the river of sorrow* as *Styx* was of *hate, black and deep*, agreeable to *Virgil's* character of it

--- tenebrosa palus Acheronte refuso. *Æn. VI. 107.*

Cocytus, nam'd of lamentation, because derived from a Greek word

κακωω signifying to *weep* and *lament*: as *Phlegethon* is from another Greek word *φλεγω* signifying to *burn*; and therefore rightly described here *fierce Phlegethon, whose waves of torrent fire inflame with rage*, as it is by *Virgil, Æn. VI. 550*.

--- rapidus flammis torreadus amnis
 Tartareus Phlegethon.

We know not what to say as to the situation of these rivers. *Homer*, the most ancient poet, represents *Cocytus* as branching out of *Styx*, and both *Cocytus* and *Phlegethon* (or *Pyriphlegethon*) as flowing into *Acheron*, *Odys. X. 513*.

Εἴθε' μιν οἷς Ἀχέρουσα Πυριφλεγέθων τε πύουσι
 Κόκυτος δ' ὅς ἐσσι Στυγὸς ἰδάτω ἔσσι ἀπορραξ.

and perhaps he describes their situation as it really was in *Greece*: but *Virgil* and the other poets frequently

rthwith his former state and being forgets, 585
 rgets both joy and grief, pleasure and pain.
 yond this flood a frozen continent
 s dark and wild, beat with perpetual storms
 whirlwind and dire hail, which on firm land
 laws not, but gathers heap, and ruin seems 390
 ancient pile; all else deep snow and ice,
 gulf profound as that Serbonian bog

Between

dly confound them, and men-
 their names and places with-
 sufficient difference or distinc-

Our poet therefore was at
 ty to draw (as I may say) a
 map of these rivers; and he
 poses a burning lake agreeably
 cripture that often mentions *the*
of fire; and he makes these
 rivers to flow from four diffe-
 quarters and empty themselves
 this burning lake, which gives
 much greater idea than any of
 Heathen poets. Besides these
 e is a fifth river called *Lethe*,
 ch name in Greek signifies *for-*
gets, and its waters are said to
 e occasion'd that quality, *Æn.*
 714.

Lethæi ad fluminis undam
 curus latices, et longa obliviam
 potant:

Milton attributes the same ef-
 to it, and describes it as a *slow*
silent stream, as Lucan had done
de Ann. IX. 355.

Quam juxta *Lethe* tacitus prælabi-
 tur *annus*.

The river of oblivion is rightly
 plac'd *far off* from the rivers of
 hatred, sorrow, lamentation, and
 rage; and divides the frozen-conti-
 nent from the region of fire, and
 thereby completes the map of Hell
 with its general divisions.

589. — [*dire hail*,] *Hor. Od. I.*
II. 1.

Jam satis terris nivis atque *diræ*
Grandinis &c.

592. — [*that Serbonian bog*] Ser-
 bonis was a lake 200 furlongs in
 length and 1000 in compass be-
 tween the ancient mountain *Cafus*
 and *Daniata* a city of Egypt on
 one of the more eastern mouths of
 the Nile. It was surrounded on
 all sides by hills of loose sand,
 which carried into the water by
 high winds so thicken'd the lake,
 as not to be distinguish'd from part
 of the continent, where whole ar-
 mies

Betwixt Damietta and mount Casius old,
 Where armies whole have sunk: the parching air
 Burns frore, and cold performs th' effect of fire. 595
 Thither by harpy-footed furies hal'd
 At certain revolutions all the damn'd
 Are brought; and feel by turns the bitter change
 Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,
 From beds of raging fire to starve in ice 600
 Their soft ethereal warmth, and there to pine
 Immoveable,

mies have been swallow'd up. Read: this line is deriv'd from the Belgic
 Herodotus, L. 3. and Luc. Phan. *baley* or the French *baler*, and
 VIII. 539. *Esc.* therefore should be spelt as it is
 here, and not *hal'd* as in Milton's

oveable, infix'd, and frozen round,
 is of time, thence hurried back to fire:
 ferry over this Lethean found
 to and fro, their sorrow to augment,
 with and struggle, as they pass, to reach
 emptying stream, with one small drop to lose
 eet forgetfulness all pain and woe,
 one moment, and so near the brink;
 te withstands, and to oppose th' attempt 610
 Medusa

a fine passage likewise in
 the, where the punishment
 is supposed to consist in
 heat or extreme cold; but
 terms are not made alter-
 ed to be suffer'd both in
 as, as Milton has describ'd
 and thereby has greatly re-
 improv'd the thought.
 for Measure, Act III.

t to die, and go we know
 where:
 a cold obstruction, and to
 visible warm motion to be-
 e
 led clod; and the delight-
 xirt
 ie in fiery floods, or to
 e
 ng regions of thick-ribbed
 &c.

— and so near the brink;]
 added as a farther aggra-
 their misery, that tho'
 I.

they were so near the brink, so near
 the brim and surface of the water,
 yet they could not taste one drop
 of it. But the reasons follow, *just*
withstands, fata obstant as it is in
 Virgil, *Æn.* IV. 440. and *Medusa*
with Gorgonian terror guards the
ford. Medusa was one of the Gor-
 gon monsters, whose locks were
 serpents so terrible that they turn-
 ed the beholders into stone. Ulysses
 in Homer was desirous of seeing
 more of the departed heroes, but
 I was afraid, says he, *Odyss.* XI:
 633.

Μη μοι Γοργων κεφαλην δευοιο
 σιλωρη
 Εξ Αιδου σιμψενον αγαυη Περ-
 σιφονια.

Left Gorgon rising from th'infer-
 nal lakes,
 With horrors arm'd, and curls of
 hissing snakes,

§

Should

Medusa with Gorgonian terror guards
The ford, and of itself the water flies
All taste of living wight, as once it fled
The lip of Tantalus. Thus roving on
In confus'd march forlorn, th' adventrous bands 615
With shudd'ring horror pale, and eyes aghast,
View'd first their lamentable lot, and found
No rest: through many a dark and dreary vale
They pass'd, and many a region dolorous,
O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp, 620
Rocks, caves, lakes, fens, bogs, dens, and shades of death,
A universe of death, which God by curse

II. PARADISE LOST. 139

re all life dies, death lives, and nature breeds,
 rse, all monstrous, all prodigious things, 625
 ainable, inutterable, and worse
 fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceiv'd,
 ons, and Hydra's, and Chimæra's dire.
 can while the Adversary' of God and Man,
 with thoughts inflam'd of hig'hest design, 630
 on swift wings, and tow'ards the gates of Hell
 ores his solitary flight; sometimes
 ours the right hand coast, sometimes the left,
 haves with level wing the deep, then soars
 o the fiery concave towering high. 635
 hen far off at sea a fleet descry'd

Hangs

ere were Celæno's fowl and
 athsome rout,
 ere Sphinges, Centaurs, there
 ere Gorgons fell,
 ere howling Scylla's, yawling
 und about,
 ere serpents hiss, there sev'n-
 outh'd Hydra's yell,
 ere Chimæra there spues fire and
 imstone out. Fairfax.
 ow much better has Milton
 ended them in one line ?

. Now *flaves with level wing
 he deep.*] Virg. *Æn.* V. 217.
 iter liquidum, celeres neque
 ommovet alas.

636. *As when far off at sea &c.*] Satan *towering high* is here com-
 par'd to a fleet of Indiamen disco-
 ver'd at a distance, as it were,
hanging in the clouds, as a fleet at a
 distance seems to do. This is the
 whole of the comparison; but (as
 Dr. Pearce observes) Milton in his
 similitudes (as is the practice of
 Homer and Virgil too) after he has
 show'd the common resemblance,
 often takes the liberty of wand'ring
 into some unressembling circum-
 stances; which have no other rela-
 tion to the comparison, than that
 it gave him the hint, and as it
 were set fire to the train of his
 imagination.

Hangs in the clouds, by equinoctial winds
 Close sailing from Bengala, or the iles
 Of Ternate and Tidore, whence merchants bring
 Their spicy drugs: they on the trading flood 640
 Through the wide Ethiopian to the Cape
 Ply stemming nightly tow'ard the pole. So seem'd
 Far

imagination. But Dr. Bentley asks, why a *fleet*: when a *single* rate man of war would do? And Dr. Pearce answers, Because a fleet gives a nobler image than a single ship. And it is a fleet of Indiamen, because coming from so long a voyage it is the fitter to be compar'd to Satan in this expedition; and these exotic names (as Dr. Bentley calls them) give a less vulgar cast to the similitude than places in our own channel and in our own seas would have done. This fleet is describ'd, by *equinoctial winds*, the trade-winds blowing about the equinoctial, *close sailing*, and therefore more proper to be compar'd to a single person, *from Bengala*, a kingdom and city in the East Indies subject to the great Mogul, or the *iles of Ternate and Tidore*, two of the Molucca islands in the East Indian sea, whence merchants bring their *spicy drugs*, the most famous spices are brought from thence by the Dutch into Europe: *they on the trading flood*, as the winds are call'd *trade-winds*, so he calls the flood *trading*, through the wide Ethiopian sea to the Cape of Good Hope, *ply stemming nightly toward the pole*,

that is by night they sail northward, and yet (as Dr. Pearce says) by day their fleet may be describ'd *being in the clouds*: So seem'd far off the *syng Fiend*: Dr. Bentley asks, whom Satan appear'd to *far off*, in this his *solitary flight*? But what a cold phlegmatic piece of criticism is this? It may be answer'd, that he was seen by the Muse, and would have seem'd so to any one who had seen him. Poets often speak in this manner, and make themselves and their readers present to the most retir'd scenes of action.

645. *And thrice threefold the gates;*] The gates had nine folds, nine plates, nine linings; as Homer and the other poets make their heroes shields, to have several coverings of various materials for the greater strength: Ovid. Met. XIII. 2.

— clypei dominus septemplex
 Ajax. Bentley.

647. — *impal'd with circling fire,*] Incloscd. palcd in as it were. So the word is used in Spenser's *Mahometos*,

And

Far off the flying Fiend: at last appear
 Hell bounds high reaching to the horrid roof,
 And thrice threefold the gates; three folds were brass,
 Three iron, three of adamantin rock, 646
 Impenetrable, impal'd with circling fire,
 'et unconsum'd. Before the gates there sat

On

And round about, her work she
 did *impale*
 With a fair border wrought of
 sundry flowers.

of the allegory says only, that Satan's intended voyage was dangerous to his being, and that he resolved however to venture.

Richardson.

is commonly applied to that kind of execution, when a pale or stake drove through a malefactor's body. And perhaps Milton (as Mr. Thyer adds) might take the hint of this circumstance from his favorite romances, where one frequently meets with the gates of charmed castles thus *impal'd with circling fire*. Spenser also in his description of the house of Busynne. *Fairy Queen*, B. 3. Cant. 11. . 21.

The flight of Satan to the gates of Hell is finely imaged. I have already declared my opinion of the allegory concerning Sin and Death, which is however a very finish'd piece in its kind, when it is not considered as a part of an epic poem. The genealogy of the several persons is contrived with great delicacy; Sin is the daughter of Satan, and Death the offspring of Sin. The incestuous mixture between Sin and Death produces those monsters and Hell-hounds, which from time to time enter into their mother, and tear the bowels of her who gave them birth. These are the terrors of an evil conscience, and the proper fruits of Sin, which naturally rise from the apprehensions of Death. This last beautiful moral is, I think, clearly intimated in the speech of Sin, where complaining of this her dreadful issue, she adds,

but in the porch that did them
 fore amate
 A flaming fire, ymixt with smouldry
 smoke &c.

648. — *Before the gates there sat* :.] Here begins the famous allegory of Milton, which is a sort of paraphrase on that text of the postle St. James, I. 15. *Then when Lust hath conceived it bringeth forth Sin, and Sin when it is finished ingeth forth Death*. The first part

On either side a formidable shape ;
 The one seem'd woman to the waste, and fair, 650
 But ended foul in many a scaly fold
 Voluminous and vast, a serpent arm'd
 With mortal sting: about her middle round

A

Before mine eyes in opposition sits
 Grim Death my son and foe, who
 sets them on,

And me his parent would full soon
 devour

For want of other prey, but that
 he knows

His end with mine involv'd.

I need not mention to the reader the beautiful circumstance in the last part of this quotation. He will likewise observe how naturally the three persons concerned in this allegory are tempted by one common interest to enter into a confederacy together, and how properly Sin is made the portress of Hell, and the only being that can open the gates to that world of tortures. The descriptive part of this allegory is likewise very strong, and full of sublime ideas. The figure of Death, the regal crown upon his head, his menace of Satan, his advancing to the combat, the outcry at his birth, are circumstances too noble to be pass'd over in silence, and extremely suitable to this *king of terrors*. I need not mention the justness of thought which is observed in the generation of these several symbolical persons; that Sin was produced upon the first

revolt of Satan, that Death appear'd soon after he was cast into Hell, and that the terrors of conscience were conceived at the gate of this place of torments. The description of the gates is very poetical, as the opening of them is full of Milton's spirit.

Addition.
 But tho' Mr. Addison censures this famous allegory, as improper for an epic poem; yet Bishop Atterbury, whose taste in polite literature was never question'd, seems to be much more affected with this than any part of the poem, as I think we may collect from one of his letters to Mr. Pope. "I return you your Milton, says He, and — I protest to you, this last perusal of him has given me such new degrees, I will not say of pleasure, but of admiration and astonishment, that I look upon the sublimity of Homer and the majesty of Virgil with somewhat less reverence than I us'd to do. I challenge you, with all your partiality, to show me in the first of these any thing equal to the allegory of Sin and Death, either as to the greatness and justness of the invention, or the height and beauty of the coloring. What!
 " looks

A
E

A cry of Hell hounds never ceasing bark'd
 With wide Cerberean mouths full loud, and rung 655
 A hideous peal; yet, when they list, would creep,
 If ought disturb'd their noise, into her womb,
 And kennel there, yet there still bark'd and howl'd;
 Within

“ looked upon as a rant of Bar-
 “ row’s, I now begin to think a
 “ serious truth, and could almost
 “ venture to set my hand to it,

Hæc quicumque leget, tantum ce-
 cinisse putabit,
 Meonidem raras, Virgilium cu-
 lices.

649. On either side a formidable
 shape;] The figure of Death
 is pretty well fix’d and agreed upon
 by poets and painters: but the de-
 scription of Sin seems to be an im-
 provement upon that thought in
 Horace, De Art. Poet. 4.

Definit in piscem mulier formosa
 superne.

And it is not improbable, that the
 author might have in mind too
 Spenser’s description of Error in
 the mix’d shape of a woman and
 a serpent, Fairy Queen, B. 1. C. 1.
 St. 14.

Half like a serpent horribly dis-
 play’d,
 But th’ other half did woman’s
 shape retain, &c.

And also the image of Echidna,
 B. 6. C. 6. St. 10.

Yet did her face, and former
 parts profess
 A fair young maiden, full of
 comely glee;
 But all her hinder parts did
 plain express
 A monstrous dragon, full of fear-
 ful ugliness.

The addition of the Hell hounds
 about her middle is plainly copied
 from Scylla, as appears from the
 following simile. I had almost
 forgot that Hesiod’s Echidna is de-
 scribed half-woman and half-ser-
 pent as well as Spenser’s. Theog.
 298.

Ἡμισυ μὲν θυμῶν, ἐλικωτίδα
 καλλιπαρμῶν,
 Ἡμισυ δ’ αὐτὰ πειλοῦσθ’ ὄφιν, δ’ αἰ-
 νοῖν τὸ μέγιστον.

654. A cry of Hell-hounds never
 ceasing bark’d] Dr. Bentley
 reads *A cry of Hell-hounds, &c.*
 but Milton’s cry of Hell-hounds is
 of much the same poetical stamp as
 Virgil’s *ruunt equites et odora canum
 vis*, Æn. IV. 132. where what is
 proper to the *canes* is said of the
vis; as here what is proper to the
Hell-hounds is said of the *cry*. We
 have the same way of speaking in
 VI. 212. VII. 66. and elsewhere.

Peavee.
 660. Vex’d

Within unseen. Far less abhor'd than these
 Vex'd Scylla bathing in the sea that parts
 Calabria from the hoarse Trinacrian shore :
 Nor uglier follow the night-hag, when call'd
 In secret, riding through the air she comes,
 Lur'd with the smell of infant blood, to dance
 With Lapland witches, while the lab'ring moon 665
 Eclipses at their charms. The other shape,
 If shape it might be call'd that shape had none
 Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb,

Or

660. *Vex'd Scylla bathing in the sea*] For Circe having poison'd that part of the sea where Scylla used to bathe. the next time Scylla bathed, her lower parts were changed into dogs, *in the sea that parts Calabria*, the farthest part of Italy towards the Mediterranean. *fr. m. the hoarse Trinacrian shore*, that is from Sicily, which was formerly called Trinacria from its three promontories lying in the form of a triangle: and this shore may well be called *hoarse* not only by reason of a tempestuous sea breaking upon it, but likewise on account of the noises occasion'd by the eruptions of mount Ætna; and the number of r's in this verse very well express the hoarseness of it. You have the story of Scylla in the beginning of the 14th book of Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, ver. 59. &c.

Scylla venit, mediaque tenus descenderat alvo;
 Cum sua scædari latrantibus inguina monstris
 Aspicit: ac primo non credens corporis illas
 Esse sui partes, refugitque, abigique, timetque
 Ora proterva canum; sed quos fugit, attrahit una.
 Et corpus quærens femorum, crurumque, pedumque,
 Cerbereos rictus pro partibus invenit illis.
 Statque canum rabies; subjectaque terga ferarum
 Inguinibus truncis uteroque exstante coherent.

The *Cerberian mouths* in Milton is plainly after the *Cerberos rictus* in Ovid.

665. — *the lab'ring moon*] The Ancients believed the moon greatly affected

r substance might be call'd that shadow seem'd,
 or each seem'd either; black it stood as Night; 670
 erce as ten Furies, terrible as Hell,
 nd shook a dreadful dart; what seem'd his head
 ne likeness of a kingly crown had on.
 tan was now at hand, and from his seat
 he monster moving onward came as fast. 675
 ith horrid strides, Hell trembled as he strode.
 r' undaunted Fiend what this might be admir'd,
 lmir'd, not fear'd; God and his Son except,
 Created

sted by magical practices, and Latin poets call the eclipses of moon *labores lunæ*. The three going lines, and the former of this contain a short account what was once believ'd, and in Milton's time not so ridiculous as *Richardson*.

66. *The other shape &c.*] This is a poetical description of Death our author has pretty evidently borrowed from Spenser. *Fairy Queen*, Cant. 7. St. 46.

t after all came Life, and lastly Death,
 :ath with most grim and grisly visage seen,
 t is he nought but parting of the breath,
 :ought to see, but like a shade to ween,
 ibodied, unsoul'd, unheard, un- seen. *Thyer*.

670.—*black it stood as Night, &c.*] Like the ghost described in Homer, *Odyss. XI. 605*.

— ὁ δ' ἄσπερ νυκτὶ σκοτεινῆς
 Γομφὸν τοξοῦ ἔχων, καὶ ἐπὶ τρυφῆν
 ἔριον εἶσον,
 Δεινὸν παρ' ἁλῶν, αἰὲν βελώνῃσθε
 σκοτεινῆς.

Gloomy as night he stands, in act to throw
 Th' aerial arrow from the twanging bow. *Broome*.

678. — *God and his Son except, Created thing nought valued be nor sum'd;*] This appears at first sight to reckon God and his Son among created things, but *except* is used here with the same liberty as *but* ver. 333 and 336, and Milton has a like passage in his prose works, p. 277. Edit. Tol. *No place in Heaven and Earth, except Hell* — *Richardson*. 683. — *mif-*

Created thing nought valued he nor shunn'd ;
 And with disdainful look thus first began. 680

Whence and what art thou, execrable shape,
 That dar'st, though grim and terrible, advance
 Thy miscreated front athwart my way
 To yonder gates? through them I mean to pass,
 That be assur'd, without leave ask'd of thee: 685
 Retire, or taste thy folly, and learn by proof,
 Hell-born, not to contend with Spi'rits of Heaven.

To whom the goblin full of wrath reply'd.
 Art thou that traitor Angel, art thou He,
 Who first broke peace in Heav'n and faith, till then
 Unbroken, and in proud rebellious arms 691
 Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's sons
 Conjur'd against the Hig'hest, for which both thou
 And

683. — *miscreated*] We have been told that Milton first coin'd the word *miscreated*, but Spenser used it before him, as Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 2. St. 3.

Estfoons he took that *miscreated* fair.
 and B. 2. Cant. 7. St. 42.

Nor mortal steel empierce his *miscreated* mold. Bentley.

684. — *through them I mean to pass, &c.*] Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 3. Cant. 4. St. 15.

I mean not thee intreat
 To pass; but mauger thee will
 pass, or die. *Jertin.*

692. *Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's Sons*] An opinion, as we noted before, grounded on Rev. XII. 3, 4. *Behold a great red dragon — and his tail drew the third part of the stars of Heaven and cast them to the earth.*

693. *Conjur'd against the Hig'hest*] Banded and leagued together against the most High. Of the Latin

ney, outcast from God, are here condemn'd
 For e'ternal days in woe and pain? 695

Wron'g'st thou thyself with Spirits of Heaven,
 Doom'd, and breath'st defiance here and scorn

I reign king, and to enrage thee more,
 King and lord? Back to thy punishment,
 Fugitive, and to thy speed add wings, 700

With a whip of scorpions I pursue
 Stinging, or with one stroke of this dart
 I'll horrify thee, and pangs unselt before.

Like the grisly terror, and in shape,
 King and so threatening, grew tenfold 705

Dreadful and deform: on th' other side
 I stood with indignation Satan stood
 As if he'd, and like a comet burn'd,

That

to bind one another by
 true and faithful in a de-
 taken,

notes caelum rescindere fra-
 Virg. Georg. I. 280.
wato descendens Dacus ab
 Georg. II. 497. *Hums.*

[*hell-doom'd,*] As Satan had
 with *Hell-burn*, ver. 687,
 turns it by calling Satan
d.

[*also fugitive,*] He is here
 because he had called

himself a *Spirit of Heaven*. Com-
 pare ver. 687 with ver. 696.

Pearce.

708.—*and like a comet burn'd, &c.*
 The ancient poets frequently com-
 pare a hero in his shining armour
 to a comet; as Virg. *Aen.* X. 272.

Non secus ac liquida si quando
 nocte comete
 Sanguinei lugubre rubent —

But this comet is so large as to *fill*
 the length of the constellation *Ophta-*
chus or *Anguineus*, or *Serpenta-*
rias

That fires the length of Ophiuchus huge
In th' arctic sky, and from his horrid hair
Shakes pestilence and war. Each at the head
Level'd his deadly aim; their fatal hands
No second stroke intend, and such a frown
Each cast at th' other, as when two black clouds,
With Heav'n's artillery fraught, come rattling on
Over the Caspian, then stand front to front
Hovering a space, till winds the signal blow
To join their dark encounter in mid air:
So frown'd the mighty combatants, that Hell
Grew

Grew darker at their frown, so match'd they stood;
 For never but once more was either like
 To meet so great a foe: and now great deeds
 Had been achiev'd, whereof all Hell had rung,
 Had not the snaky sorcerers that sat
 Fast by Hell gate, and kept the fatal key,
 Ris'n, and with hideous outcry rush'd between.

O Father, what intends thy hand, she cry'd,
 Against thy only Son? What fury, O Son,
 Possesses thee to bend that mortal dart
 Against thy Father's head? and know'st for whom;

For

Se vediste insieme mai scotrâr
 dua toni
 Da Levante a Ponente al ciel di-
 verso,
 Così proprio s'urtar quei dua ba-
 roni. *Ther.*

715. — *Heav'n's artillery*] Thunder. *Juv. Sat. XIII. 9.*

Quicquid habent telorum arma-
 mentaria cœli. *Hume.*

716. *Over the Caspian,*] That sea being particularly noted for storms and tempests. So Horace, *Od. II. IX. 2.*

— Non mare *Caspium*
 Vexant inæquales procellæ
 Ulque —

And so Fairfax, in Tasso, *Cant. 6. St. 38.*

Or as when clouds together crush'd
 and bruised,
 Pour down a tempest by the *Cas-
 pian* shore.

722. — *so great a foe:*] Jesus Christ who (as it follows ver. 734.) will one day destroy both Death and him that has the power of death that is the Devil, *Heb. II. 14.*

730. — *and know'st for whom;*] These words are read with a semi-colon in Milton's own editions, and not with a note of interrogation, as in some others: and the meaning is, *at the same time that thou knowest for whom;* Cum nôris bene cui facias hoc; as Dr. Trapp translates it. If this is not the sense of the words, they must be read with a note of interrogation.

737. *Se*

For him who fits above and laughs the while
At thee ordain'd his drudge, to execute
Whate'er his wrath, which he calls justice, bids;
His wrath, which one day will destroy ye both.

She spake, and at her words the hellish pest 735
Forbore, then these to her Satan return'd.

So strange thy outcry, and thy words so strange
Thou interpos'est, that my sudden hand
Prevented spares to tell thee yet by deeds
What it intends; till first I know of thee, 740
What thing thou art, thus double-form'd, and why
In this infernal vale first met thou call'st
Me Father, and that phantasm call'st my Son;
I know thee not, nor ever saw till now
Sight more detestable than him and thee. 745
T' whom thus the portress of Hell gate reply'd.

all the Seraphim with thee combin'd 750
 bold conspiracy against Heav'n's king,
 I on a sudden miserable pain
 surpris'd thee, dim thine eyes, and dizzy swum
 in darkness, while thy head flames thick and fast
 threw forth, till on the left side opening wide, 755
 left to thee in shape and count'nance bright,
 when shining heav'nly fair, a Goddess arm'd
 at thy head I sprung: amazement seis'd
 I th' host of Heav'n; back they recoil'd afraid
 : first, and call'd me Sin, and for a sign 760
 portentous held me; but familiar grown,
 pleas'd, and with attractive graces won
 the most averse, thee chiefly, who full oft
 thyself in me thy perfect image viewing
 enamour'd, and such joy thou took'st 765
 with me in secret, that my womb conceiv'd
 a growing burden. Mean while war arose,
 and fields were fought in Heav'n; wherein remain'd
 (For

the head of Satan, as Wisdom
 Minerva did out of Jupiter's:
 and Milton describes the birth of
 : one very much in the same
 manner, as the ancient poets have
 said of the other, and particularly
 the author of the hymn to Mi-

nerva vulgarly ascribed to Homer.
 And what follows seems to be an
 hint improv'd upon Minerva's be-
 ing ravish'd soon after her birth
 by Vulcan, as we may learn from
 Lucian. Dial. Vulcani & Jovis, &
 De Domo.

(For what could else?) to our almighty foe
 Clear victory, to our part loss and rout 770
 Through all the empyréan: down they fell
 Driv'n headlong from the pitch of Heaven, down
 Into this deep, and in the general fall
 I also; at which time this pow'ful key
 Into my hand was giv'n, with charge to keep 775
 These gates for ever shut, which none can pass
 Without my opening. Pensive here I sat
 Alone, but long I sat not, till my womb
 Pregnant by thee, and now excessive grown
 Prodigious motion felt and rueful throes. 780
 At last this odious offspring whom thou seest
 Thine own begotten, breaking violent way

Tore

771. — *the empyréan*:] It is somewhat remarkable that tho' the words *empyrean* and *empyrean* are both spelt in the same manner, yet Milton constantly pronounces *empyrean* with the accent upon the third syllable from the end, and *empyrean* with the accent upon the second. I once imagin'd that he did it to distinguish the substantive from the adjective; but I find one instance where he uses the word *empyrean* as an adjective, and yet gives it the same accent as when he makes it a substantive, X. 321.

The confines met of empyréan Heaven.

There is no way of solving the difficulty, unless we suppose with Dr. Heylin that the word *empyrean* is false spelt, and that it ought to be written *empyrial* $\epsilon\mu\pi\upsilon\rho\epsilon\iota\alpha$ is Greek, and the other *empyrean* $\epsilon\mu\pi\upsilon\rho\epsilon\alpha\varsigma$.

786. — *brandishing his fatal dart*] So Virgil of Æneas going to kill Turnus, Æn. XII. 919.

Cunctanti telam Æneas fatale coruscant.

789. *From all her caves, and back rebounded*] An imitation of Virgil, Æn. II. 53.

Insonore

Tore through my entrails, that with fear and pain
 Distorted, all my nether shape thus grew
 Transform'd: but he my inbred enemy 785
 Forth issued, brandishing his fatal dart
 Made to destroy: I fled, and cry'd out Death;
 Hell trembled at the hideous name, and sigh'd
 From all her caves, and back resounded Death.
 I fled, but he pursued, (though more, it seems, 790
 inflam'd with lust than rage) and swifter far,
 He overtook his mother all dismay'd,
 And in embraces forcible and foul
 engendring with me, of that rape begot
 These yelling monsters, that with ceaseless cry 795
 surround me, as thou saw'st, hourly conceiv'd

And

*Insonuere cavæ, gemitumque de-
 dere cavernæ. Hunc.*

*fled and cry'd out Death — and
 ack resounded Death.* The repeti-
 on of *Death* here is a beauty of
 the same kind as that of the name
 f *Eurydice* in Virgil *Georg.* IV.
 25.

Eurydicen vox ipsa et frigida lingua,
 Ah miseram *Eurydicen*, anima fu-
 gente, vocabat;
Eurydicen toto referabant flumine
 ripæ:

only *Death* is made the last word in
 the sentence, and *Eurydice* for the
 sake of the verse the first. There
 is the like repetition in *Ecl.* VI. 43.

His adjungit, *Hylan* nautæ quo
 fonte relictum
 Clamassent; ut littus, *Hyla, Hyla*,
 omne sonaret.

796. — as thou saw'st,] One
 would think it should be as thou
 see'st; but we must suppose that
 now at this time these monsters
 were crept into her womb, and lay
 there unseen.

And hourly born, with sorrow infinite
To me; for when they lift, into the womb
That bred them they return, and howl and gnaw
My bowels, their repast; then bursting forth 800
Afresh with conscious terrors vex me round,
That rest or intermission none I find.
Before mine eyes in opposition sits
Grim Death my son and foe, who sets them on,
And me his parent would full soon devour 805
For want of other prey, but that he knows
His end with mine involv'd; and knows that I
Should prove a bitter morsel, and his bane,

Dear Daughter, since thou clam'ft me for thy fire,
 and my fair fon here show'ft me, the dear pledge
 of dalliance had with thee in Heav'n, and joys
 when sweet, now sad to mention, through dire change
 of fall'n us unforeseen, unthought of; know 821
 come no enemy, but to fet free
 from out this dark and dismal house of pain
 both him and thee, and all the heav'nly host
 of Spirits, that in our just pretences arm'd 825
 all with us from on-high: from them I go
 his uncouth errand sole, and one for all
 myself expose, with lonely steps to tread
 h' unfounded deep, and through (the void immense
 to search with wand'ring quest a place foretold 830
 would be, and, by concurring signs, ere now
 created vast and round, a place of bliss
 the pourlieus of Heav'n, and therein plac'd
 race of upstart creatures, to supply
 perhaps our vacant room; though more remov'd, 835
 at Heav'n surcharg'd with potent multitude

Might

But Milton with great propriety makes the fall'n Angels and here attribute events to fate, without any mention of the Supreme Being.

817. *Dear Daughter,*] Satan had now learned *his lore* or lesson, and the reader will observe how artfully he changes his language; he had had

Might hap to move new broils: Be this or ought
 Than this more secret now design'd, I haste
 To know, and this once known, shall soon return,
 And bring ye to the place where Thou and Death
 Shall dwell at ease, and up and down unseen 841
 Wing silently the buxom air, imbalm'd
 With odors; there ye shall be fed and fill'd
 Immensurably, all things shall be your prey.

He ceas'd, for both seem'd highly pleas'd, and Death
 Grinn'd horrible a ghastly smile, to hear 846
 His famin should be fill'd, and blest his maw
 Destin'd to that good hour: no less rejoic'd
 His mother bad, and thus bespake her fire.

The key of this infernal pit by due, 850
 And

had said before, ver. 745. that he had never seen *fight more detestable*; but now it is *dear daughter*, and *my fair son*.

842. *Wing silently the buxom air,*] *Buxom*, as when we say a *buxom lass*, is vulgarly understood for merry, wanton; but it properly signifies flexible, yielding, from a Saxon word signifying to bend. It is likewise made the epithet of the air by Spenser, *Fairy Queen*, B. 1. C. 11. St. 37.

And therewith scourge the *buxom air* so fore.

And he shows plainly how he understood the word by his use of it in his *View of the state of Ireland*, "Thinking thereby to make them more tractable and *buxom* to his government."

846. *Grinn'd horrible a ghastly smile,*] Several poets have endeavored to express much the same image. Thus Homer says of Ajax, *Iliad*. VII. 212.

Μειδιον βλοσυροισι οστρο
 πασι.

And

And by command of Heav'n's all-pow'rful king
 I keep, by him forbidden to unlock
 These adamantin gates; against all force
 Death ready stands to interpose his dart,
 Fearless to be o'ermatch'd by living might. 855

But what owe I to his commands above
 Who hates me, and hath hither thrust me down
 Into this gloom of Tartarus profound,
 To sit in hateful office here confin'd,
 Inhabitant of Heav'n, and heav'nly-born, 860

Here in perpetual agony and pain,
 With terrors and with clamors compass'd round
 Of mine own brood, that on my bowels feed?
 Thou art my father, thou my author, thou

My

And Statius of Tydeus, Thebaid.
 VIII. 582.

— formidabile ridens.

And Cowley of Goliath, Davideis,
 B. III.

Th' uncircumcis'd smil'd grimly
 with disdain.

And as Mr. Thyer observes, Ariosto
 and Tasso express it very prettily
 thus, *Aspramente sorrise* and *Sorrisi*
amaramente. But I believe it will
 be readily allowed, that Milton has
 greatly exceeded them all.

855. *Fearless to be o'ermatch'd by
 living might.*] In some edi-
 tions it is *living wight*, that is crea-
 ture, and we have *living wight* be-
 fore ver. 613: and this is likewise
 Dr. Bentley's reading, for *living*
might, says he, would not except
 even God himself, the ever-living
 and the almighty. But God him-
 self must necessarily be excepted
 here; for it was by his command
 that Sin and Death sat to guard
 the gates, and therefore *living might*
 cannot possibly be understood of
 God, but of any one else who
 should endeavor to force a passage.

My being gav'ſt me; whom ſhould I obey 865
 But thee, whom follow? thou wilt bring me ſoon
 To that new world of light and bliſs, among
 The Gods who live at eaſe, where I ſhall reign
 At thy right hand voluptuous, as beſeems
 Thy daughter and thy darling, without end. 870

Thus ſaying, from her ſide the fatal key,
 Sad inſtrument of all our woe, ſhe took;
 And tow'ards the gate rolling her beſtial train,
 Forthwith the huge portcullis high up drew,
 Which but herſelf, not all the Stygian Powers 875
 Could once have mov'd; then in the key-hole turns
 Th' intricate wards, and every bolt and bar

Of

868. *The Gods who live at eaſe,*] ly as highly gratified by the minute detail of particulars our author has given us. It may with

Word for word from Homer, *ἑσσι*
ἑσσι

Reutlev

massy ir'on or solid rock with ease
 astens: on a sudden open fly
 h impetuous recoil and jarring found 880
 infernal doors, and on their hinges grate
 sh thunder, that the lowest bottom shook
 Erebus. She open'd, but to shut
 ell'd her pow'r; the gates wide open stood,
 t with extended wings a banner'd host 885
 er spread ensigns marching might pass through
 h horse and chariots rank'd in loose array;
 ride they stood, and like a furnace mouth
 forth redounding smoke and ruddy flame.
 re their eyes in sudden view appear 890
 The

bad line neither: but how better doth Milton's expression of her serpentine train, how well the sound agrees with use!

— and on their hinges grate sh thunder,] How much more and more poetical is this Virgil's, *Æn.* l. 449.

ribus cardo stridebat ænis:

. VI. 573.

horrisimo fridentés cardine
 cræ
 intur portæ?

ingenious author of the *Mis-
 Observations on the Tragedy*

of *Macbeth* remarks that this expression is copied from the History of Don Bellianis, where, when one of the knights approaches the castle of Brandezar, the gates are said to open *grating bars sh thunder upon their brazen hinges*. And it is not improbable that Milton might take it from thence, as he was a reader of all kinds of romances.

882. — the lowest bottom sh book
 Of Erebus.] The most profound depth of Hell.

Erebi de sedibus imis.

Virg. Georg. IV. 471.
Hume.

The secrets of the hoary deep, a dark
 Illimitable ocean, without bound,
 Without dimension, where length, breadth, and height,
 And time, and place are lost; where eldest Night
 And Chaos, ancestors of nature, hold 895
 Eternal anarchy, amidst the noise
 Of endless wars, and by confusion stand.
 For hot, cold, moist, and dry, four champions fierce,
 Strive here for mast'ry, and to battel bring
 Their embryon atoms; they around the flag 900
 Of

894. — [where eldest Night
 And Chaos, &c.] All the ancient
 naturalists, philosophers, and poets,
 hold that *Chaos* was the first prin-
 ciple of all things; and the poets
 particularly make *Night* a Goddess,
 and represent *Night* or darkness and
Chaos or confusion as exercising un-
 controll'd dominion from the be-
 ginning. Thus Orpheus in the
 beginning of his hymn to *Night*
 addresses her as the mother of the
 Gods and Men, and origin of all
 things,

Νύκτα θεῶν γενετῆραν αἰετομαί
 ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν,
 Νυξ γενεσις πάντων.

So also Spenser in imitation of the
 Ancients, *Fairy Queen*, B. 1. C. 5.
 St. 22.

O thou most ancient Grandmother
 of all,
 More old than Jove, &c.

And our author's system of the
 universe is in short, that the em-
 pyrean Heaven, and Chaos and
 darkness were before the creation,
 Heaven above and Chaos beneath;
 and then upon the rebellion of the
 Angels first Hell was formed out of
 Chaos stretching far and wide be-
 neath; and afterwards Heaven and
 Earth, another world, hanging in
 the realm of Chaos, and even from
 his dominion. See ver. 1002, &c.
 and 978.

898. [For hot, cold, moist, and
 dry, &c.] Ovid. *Met.* I. 19.
 Frigida pugnabant calidis, humes-
 tia siccis,

Millia

Of each his faction, in their several clans,
 Light-arm'd or heavy, sharp, smooth, swift or slow,
 Warm populous, un-number'd as the sands
 Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid soil,
 Evied to side with warring winds, and poise 905
 Their lighter wings. To whom these most adhere,
 He rules a moment; Chaos umpire sits,
 And by decision more embroils the fray
 By which he reigns : next him high arbiter
 Chance governs all. Into this wild abyss, 910

The

*Mollia cum duris, sine pondere
 habentia pondus.*

The reader may compare this whole description of Chaos with *vid's*, and he will easily see how the Roman poet has lessen'd the audour of his by puerile conceits and quaint antitheses : every thing Milton is great and masterly.

902. *Light-arm'd or heavy,*] He continues the warlike metaphor ; some of them are *light-arm'd or heavy*, *levis* or *gravis armaturæ*.

Hume.

904. *Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid soil,*] A city and province of sandy Libya, Virg. *Æn.* IV. 42.

*Linc deserta fiti regio, lateque
 furentes
 arcæi.*

905. — *and poise*] Give weight or ballast to. Pliny speaks of certain birds, who when a storm arises poise themselves with little stones, L. 11. C. 10. Virgil has the same thought of his bees, *Georg.* IV. 194. *Richardson.*

906. *To whom these most adhere,*] Dr. Bentley reads *the most adhere*, that is (says he) he of the four rules, while he has the majority. But this is not Milton's sense ; for according to him no atoms adhere to *moist*, but such as belong to his faction, and the same is to be said of *hot*, *cold*, and *dry*. Therefore the reason why any one of these four champions *rules* (tho' but for a moment) is because the atoms of his faction *adhere most* to him. Firm dependence indeed (says the Doctor) and worthy the superlative

tive

The womb of nature and perhaps her grave,
Of neither sea, nor shore, nor air, nor fire,
But all these in their pregnant causes mix'd
Confus'dly, and which thus must ever fight,
Unless th' almighty Maker them ordain 915
His dark materials to create more worlds;
Into this wild abyfs the wary Fiend
Stood on the brink of Hell and look'd a while,
Pond'ring his voyage; for no narrow frith
He had to cross. Nor was his ear less peal'd 920
With noises loud and ruinous (to compare

Great

Great things with small) than when Bellona storms,
 With all her battering engins bent to raise
 Some capital city; or less than if this frame
 Of Heav'n were falling, and these elements 925
 In mutiny had from her axle torn
 The steadfast earth. At last his sail-broad vans
 He spreads for flight, and in the furling smoke
 Uplifted spurns the ground; thence many a league,
 As in a cloudy chair, ascending rides 930
 Audacious; but that seat soon failing, meets
 A vast vacancy: all unawares

Fluttering

idea of Chaos before he enters into it. 'Tis very artful! If his stile is somewhat abrupt, after such pondering, it better paints the image he intended to give.

Richardson.

921. — (*to compare Great things with small*)] An expression in Virg. *Ecl.* I. 24. *parvis componere magna.* And what an idea doth this give us of the noises of Chaos, that even those of a city besieged, and of Heaven and Earth ruining from each other are but small in comparison? And tho' both the similitudes are truly excellent and sublime, yet how surprisingly doth the latter rise above the former!

927. — (*his sail-broad vans*)] As the air and water are both fluids, the metaphors taken from the one

are often applied to the other, and flying is compar'd to sailing, and sailing to flying.

Velorum pandimus alas,

says Virgil, *Æn.* III. 520. And *Æn.* I. 300.

— *volat ille per aera magnum Remigio alarum.*

The same manner of speaking has prevail'd likewise among the modern poets, and in Spenser, as well as in the passage before us, wings are liken'd to sails, *Fairy Queen*, B. 1. Cant. 11. St. 10.

His flaggy wings when forth he did display,

Were like two sails.

And afterwards, St. 18.

— he

Fluttering his pennons vain plumb down he drops
 Ten thousand fathom deep, and to this hour
 Down had been falling, had not by ill chance 935
 The strong rebuff of some tumultuous cloud,
 Instinct with fire and nitre, hurried him
 As many miles aloft: that fury stay'd,
 Quench'd in a boggy Syrtis, neither sea, 939
 Nor good dry land: nigh founder'd on he fares,
 Treading

— he cutting way
 With his broad sails, about him
 foared round.

Half flying, and half footing in
 his halte.

933. — *pennons*] This word is
 vulgarly spelt *pinions*, and so Dr.
 Bentley has printed it: but the an-

Our author seems to have borrow'd
 several images from the old dragon
 describ'd by Spenser.

ng the crude confistence, half on foot,
 ly'ing; behoves him now both oar and fail.
 en a gryphon through the wilderness
 winged course, o'er hill or moory dale,
 s the Arimaspiān, who by stealth 945
 rom his wakeful custody purloin'd
 uarded gold: So eagerly the Fiend
 og, or steep, through strait, rough, dense, or rare,
With

t Sithoniæ gentes, auroque
 tas
 agens Arimaspe comas.

as and other authors re-
 t there were continual wars
 the gryphons and Ari-
 about gold, the gryphons
 ; it and Arimaspiāns tak-
 whenever they had oppor-
 see Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. 7.
 Arimaspi, quos diximus,
 lo in fronte media infignes:
 ffidue bellum esse circa mē-
 m gryphis, feraſtum volu-
 ere, quale vulgo traditur,
 ex coniculis aurum, mira-
 te et feris custodientibus, et
 is rapientibus, multi, sed
 illustres Herodotus et Ari-
 connesius scribunt.

[*O'er bog, or steep, &c.*]
 tley's reading is not amiss
 ; *o'er steep, &c.* The diffi-
 f Satan's voyage is very
 prefs'd by so many mono-
 ; as follow, which cannot
 ounced but slowly, and

with frequent pauses. There is a
 memorable instance of the rough-
 ness of a road admirably describ'd
 by a single verse in Homer, Iliad.
 XXIII. 116.

Πολλα δ' ἀναβα, καταβα, πα-
 ρεβα τε, δροχμια τ', ηλθον,

which Mr. Pope has been oblig'd
 to translate paraphrastically to give
 us some idea of the beauty of the
 numbers, and he has made use of
 several monosyllables, as Milton
 has done.

O'er hills, o'er dales, o'er crags,
 o'er rocks they go;
 Jumping, high o'er the shrubs of
 the rough ground,
 Rattle the clatt'ring cars, and the
 shockt axles bound.

And as Mr. Thyer adds, So also
 Spenser in the same manner repre-
 sents the distress of his Redcrosse
 Knight in his encounter with the
 old dragon, Fairy Queen, B. 1.
 Cant. 11, St. 28.

Faint,

With head, hands, wings, or feet pursues his way,
 And swims, or sinks, or wades, or creeps, or flies:
 At length a universal hubbub wild 951
 Of stunning sounds and voices all confus'd,
 Borne through the hollow dark, assaults his ear
 With loudest vehemence: thither he plies,
 Undaunted to meet there whatever Power 955
 Or Spirit of the nethermost abyfs

Might

Faint, weary, fore, embroiled,
 griev'd, brent,
 With heat, toil, wounds, arms,
 smart, and inward fire.

956. — the nethermost abyfs]

Dr. Bentley says the nethermost here

there was no occasion for Dr. Bentley to read here *this vast unknown abyfs*, instead of *the nethermost abyfs*, nor in ver. 969. *regnant o'er this vast abyfs* instead of *of this nethermost abyfs*. Pearce.

969. Set. Collected. Night]

that noise reside, of whom to ask
 ay the nearest coast of darkness lies
 on light; when strait behold the throne
 and his dark pavilion spread 960
 the wasteful deep; with him enthron'd
 vested Night, eldest of things,
 port of his reign; and by them flood
 Ades, and the dreaded name

Of

and the dreaded name
 [wages;] There was a
 g the Ancients of a
 , whose very name
 id capable of pro-
 most terrible effects,
 ey therefore dreaded
 . This deity is men-
 great power in incan-
 s Erictho is introduced
 s infernal Powers for
 ow in their obedience
 har. VI. 744.

Paretis? an ille
 lus erit, quo nunquam
 cato
 sa tremit, qui Gorgona
 pertam,
 que suis trepidam casti-
 maym,
 tenet vobis qui Tar-
 ujus
 peri; Stygius qui peje-
 as?

yet, ye fullen fiends,
 ?
 call your master to my

At whose dread name the tremb-
 ling furies quake,
 Hell stands abash'd, and earth's
 foundations shake?
 Who views the Gorgons with in-
 trepid eyes,
 And your inviolable flood defies?
 Rowe.

And likewise Tiresias by Statius,
 Thebaid. IV. 514.

Scimus enim et quicquid dici nos-
 cique timetis,
 Et turbare Hecaten, ni te, Thym-
 byra, versem.
 Et triplicis mundi fumum quem
 scire nefasum est,
 Illam sed taceo.

And Ismen threatens in the same
 strain in Tasso, Cant. 13. St. 10.

Per lungo disufar già non si scor-
 da, &c.

I have not yet forgot for want
 of use,
 What dreadful terms belong this
 sacred fest,

My

Of Demogorgon; Rumor next and Chance, 965
 And Tumult and Confusion all embroil'd,
 And Discord with a thousand various mouths.

T' whom

My tongue (if still your stubborn
 hearts refuse)

That so much dreaded name can
 well repeat,

Which heard great Dis cannot
 himself excuse,

But hither run from his eternal
 feat. Fairfax.

The name of this deity is *Demogorgon*, which some think a corruption of *Demiurgus*; others imagine him to be so call'd, as being able to look upon the Gorgon, that turned all other spectators to stone, and to this Lucan seems to allude, when he says

— qui Gorgona cernit apertam.

Spenser too mentions this infernal deity, *Fairy Queen*, B. 1. Cant. 5. St. 22.

Which waft begot in *Demogorgon's*
 hall,

And saw't the secrets of the world
 unmade :

and places him likewise in the immense abyfs with Chaos, B. 4. Cant. 2. St. 47.

Down in the bottom of the deep
 abyfs,

Where *Demogorgon* in dull dark-
 nefs pent,

Far from the view of Gods and
 Heaven's blifs,

The hideous Chaos keeps, their
 dreadful dwelling is :

and takes notice also of the dreadful effects of his name, B. 1. Cant. 1. St. 37.

A bold bad man, that dar'd to call
 by name

Great *Gorgon*, prince of darkness
 and dead night,

At which *Cocytus* quakes, and *Styx*
 is put to flight.

Well therefore might Milton distinguish him by *the dreaded name of Demogorgon*: and the name of *Demogorgon* is as much as to say *Demogorgon* himself, as in Virg. *Æn.* VI. 763. *Albanum nomen* is a man of Alba, *Æn.* XII. 515. *Nomen Ecbionium*, id est *Thebanum*, is a Theban; and we have a memorable instance of this way of speaking in Rev. XI. 13. *And in the earthquake were slain septem milia nomina hominum* names of men seven thousand, that is seven thousand men,

And besides these authorities to justify our author, let me farther add what the learned Mr. Jortin hath suggested, that this name "is to be found in Lactantius, the Scholiast of Statius on *Thebaid.* IV. 516. Dicit Deum Demogorgona summum. It is also to be found in Hyginus, pag. 11. Edit. Hamburg. Oct. 1674. Et Demogorgone et Terra Python draco divinus, if the place be not corrupted. See Muncker there." And Mr. Thyer justifies

'whom Satan turning boldly, thus. Ye Powers
Spirits of this nethermost abyfs,
as and ancient Night, I come no spy,

970
With

the use of the word against
entley by another passage in
thor's Latin works, p. 340.
vetustissimos itaque mytholo-
riptores memorizæ datum re-
Demogorgonem Deorum om-
atavum (quem eundem et
ab antiquis nuncupatum ha-
inter alios liberos, quos sus-
plurimos, Terram genuisse.

— *Rummy next and Chance,*]
tan's voyage through the
there are several imaginary
s described, as residing in
immense waste of matter.
ay perhaps be conformable
: taste of those critics who
nsed with nothing in a poet
has not life and manners
d to it; but for my own
I am pleased most with those
es in this description which
in them a greater measure of
utility, and are such as might
y have happen'd. Of this
is his first mounting in the
that rises from the infernal
is falling into a cloud of
nd the like combustible ma-
that by their explosion still
d him forward in his voyage;
inging upward like a pyra-
fire, with his laborious pas-
rough that confusion of ele-
which the poet calls

womb of nature, and perhaps
er grave. *Addison.*

L. I.

Mr. Addison seems to disapprove of
these fictitious beings, thinking
them I suppose (like Sin and Death)
improper for an epic poem: but I
see no reason why Milton may not
be allow'd to place such imaginary
beings in the regions of Chaos, as
well as Virgil describe the like be-
ings, Grief, and Fear, and Want,
and Sleep, and Death, and Dis-
cord likewise within the confines
of Hell; and why what is ac-
counted a beauty in one should be
deemed a fault in the other. See
Æn. VI. 273. &c.

Vestibulum ante ipsum, primisque
in faucibus Orci,
Luctus, et ultrices posuere cubilia
Curæ:
Pallentesque habitant Morbi, tri-
stisque Senectus,
Et Metus, et malefuada Fames, et
turpis Egestas,
Terribiles visu formæ: Letumque,
Laborque:
Tum confanguineus Leti Sopor,
et mala mentis
Gaudia, mortiferumque adverso
in limine Bellum,
Ferreique Eumenidum thalami, et
Discordia demens
Vipereum crinem vittis innexa
cruentis.

Just in the gate, and in the jaws
of Hell,
Revengeful Cares, and sullen Sor-
rows dwell;

U

And

With purpose to explore or to disturb
The secrets of your realm, but by constraint
Wand'ring this darksome desert, as my way
Lies through your spacious empire up to light,
Alone, and without guide, half lost, I seek
What readiest path leads where your gloomy bounds
Confine with Heav'n; or if some other place,
From your dominion won, th' ethereal king
Possesses lately, thither to arrive
I travel this profound; direct my course;
Directed no mean recompense it brings

your behoof; if I that region, left, to usurpation thence expell'd, reduce
 her original darkness and your sway (which is my present journey) and once more
 erect the standard there of ancient Night,
 'twill be to th' advantage all, mine the revenge.
 Thus Satan, and him thus the Anarch old,
 with faltering speech and visage incompos'd,
 'twer'd. I know thee, stranger, who thou art,
 'twill mighty leading Angel, who of late
 didst lead against Heaven's king, though overthrow'n.

I

The [secret] of your reign
 passing his [secret] object to
 out [secret] [secret]. His [secret]
 ably [secret] place; as in [secret]
 [secret] [secret] [secret] [secret] [secret] [secret]

Secreta fatis ducam:
 Georg. IV. 403.

Harzendeque procul secreta
 Sibyllæ,
 rump' immane peti:
 Æn. VI. 10.

likewise in Spenser; Fairy
 in B. G. Cant. 12. St. 34.

I laugh'd all their cells and
 secrets near.

was understand by secrets, se-
 counsels and transactions, the

word *discuss* will be proper enough
 as in I. 167.

and disturb
 His inmost counsels from their
 destin'd aims;

and the word *explore* will be very
 proper, as in VII. 95.

What we, not to explore the se-
 crets ask
 Of his eternal empire.

981. *Dir. Eed no mean recompense
 it brings, &c.]* My course
 directed may bring no little recom-
 pensic and advantage to you, if I
 reduce that lost region, all usurpa-
 tion being thence expell'd, to her
 original darkness and your sway
 (which is the purport of my pre-
 sent journey) and once more
 erect the standard there of ancient
 Night.

If that way be your walk, you have not far;
 So much the nearer danger; go and speed;
 Havoc and spoil and ruin are my gain.

He ceas'd; and Satan stay'd not to reply,
 But glad that now his sea should find a shore,
 With fresh alacrity and force renew'd
 Springs upward like a pyramid of fire

Into

1009. *Havoc and spoil and ruin are my gain.* This is very agreeable to the character of Chaos by Lucan, Phar. VI. 600.

Et Chaos innumeros avidum confunderet mundos.

1011. *But glad that now his sea*

that cattle are said to have swum cross it. *Between the jutting rocks,* two rocks at the entrance into the Bosphorus or Black Sea, called in Greek *Strophades*, and by Juvenal *concurrentia saxa*; Sat. XV. 19. which Milton very well translates *the jutting rocks*, because they were

That little which is left so to defend, 1000
 Encroach'd on still through your intestine broils
 Weakning the scepter of old Night: first Hell
 Your dungeon stretching far and wide beneath;
 Now lately Heav'n and Earth, another world,
 Hung o'er my realm, link'd in a golden chain 1005
 To that side Heav'n from whence your legions fell:

If

verse, but they cannot draw him down. You may see the passage at large in the beginning of the 8th book of the Iliad.

Εἰδ' ἄγε, κερσεαδὲ θεοί, ἴνα
 ἰδέτε πάντες,

Σειρῶ χρυσεῖω ἐξ ἑρανοθεν κρε-
 μασάντες·

Πάντες δ' ἐξαπληθε θεοί, πασαι
 τὲ θεῖαιαι.

Ἄλλ' ἐκ ἀν ἑρυσαιτ' ἐξ ἑρανοθεν
 πεδισοῦθε

Ζῆν' ὑπ' αὐτῶν μῆσωρ', εἰδ' οἱ μάλ' α
 φοῖλα κέμῳτι·

Ἄλλ' ὅτε δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ πρῶτον ε-
 θελοῖμι ἑρυσαι,

Ἀυτὴ κεν γαῖη ἑρυσαιμ', αὐτὴ τὲ
 θαλασῶν·

Σειρῶ μὲν κεν ἑπειτὰ πειρῶ
 Οὐλυμπῶσι

Ἀσπαιμῶν· τὰ δὲ κ' αὐτὲ μετῆσο-
 ρα πάντα γαιγοῖτο.

League all your forces then, ye
 Pow'rs above,

Join all, and try th' omnipotence
 of Jove:

Let down our golden, everlasting
 chain,

Whose strong embrace holds
 Heav'n, and earth and main:

Strive all of mortal or immortal
 birth,

To drag by this the Thund'rer
 down to earth:

Ye strive in vain! If I but stretch
 this hand,

I heave the Gods, the ocean, and
 the land,

I fix the chain to great Olympus'
 height,

And the vast world hangs tremb-
 ling in my fight. Pope,

It is most probably and ingeniously conjectur'd, that by this golden chain may be understood the superior attractive force of the sun, whereby he continues unmov'd, and draws all the rest of the planets toward him. But whatever is meant by it, it is certain that our poet took from hence the thought of hanging the world by a golden chain.

So he with difficulty and labor hard
Mov'd on, with difficulty and labor he ;
But he once past, soon after when man fell,
Strange alteration! Sin and Death amain
Following his track, such was the will of Heaven,
Pav'd after him a broad and beaten way 1026
Over the dark abyfs, whose boiling gulf
Tamely indur'd a bridge of wondrous length
From Hell continued reaching th' utmost orb
Of this frail world; by which the Spi'rits perverse
With easy intercourse pass to and fro 1031
To tempt or punish mortals, except whom

But now at last the sacred influence
 Of light appears, and from the walls of Heaven
 Shoots far into the bosom of dim Night 1036
 A glimmering dawn; here Nature first begins
 Her farthest verge, and Chaos to retire
 As from her outmost works a broken foe
 With tumult less and with less hostile din, 1040
 That Satan with less toil, and now with ease
 Wafts on the calmer way by dubious light,
 And like a weather-beaten vessel holds
 Gladly the port, though shrouds and tackle torn;
 Or in the emptier waste, resembling air, 1045
 Weighs his spread wings, at leisure to behold

Far

and therefore the poet should not have anticipated it here. Let the lines themselves be approv'd; yet it must be allow'd, it is wrong conduct and want of oeconomy for the whole poem. And we cannot recollect a parallel instance in Homer or Virgil, or any authoriz'd poet.

1025. — *such was the will of Heaven,*] ΔΙΟΥ Δ' ΕΤΙΛΑΜΕΤΟ ΒΕΛΛΗ. Hom. Iliad. I. 5.

1039. *As from her outmost works]* Dr. Bentley reads *bis* instead of *her*: but the meaning is not that Chaos retires as from his own outmost works, but retires as from the out-

most works of Nature mentioned before.

1042. — *by dubious light,*] In this line and in the preceding description of the *glimmering dawn* that Satan first meets with, Milton very probably alludes to Seneca's elegant account of Hercules's passage out of Hell. Herc. Fur. 668.

Non cæca tenebris incipit prima via:

Tenuis relictæ lucis a tergo nitor, Fulgorque dubius solis afflicti cadit. *Thyer.*

1046. *Weighs his spread wings,*] In like manner Tasso describing the

Far off th' empyreal Heav'n, extended wide
 In circuit, undetermin'd square or round,
 With opal tow'rs and battlements adorn'd
 Of living saphir, once his native seat:
 And fast by hanging in a golden chain
 This pendent world, in bigness as a star

the Angel Gabriel's flight, Cant. 1.
 St. 14.

E si librò fu l' adeguate penne.

But I think notwithstanding the natural partiality one has for one's countryman, the preference must be given to the Italian. The same stanza suggests another imitation. Tasso calls Gabriel's wings,

Infaticabilmente, agili, e preste.

And Milton, ver. 408,

Upborne with indefatigable wings.
Thyer.

1049. *With opal tow'rs:]* With towers of precious stones. Opal is a stone of diverse colors, partaking of the carbuncles faint fire, the amethysts bright purple, and the emeralds chearing green.

Hume and Richardson.

1052. *This pendent world, in bigness as a star*

Of smallest magnitude close by the moon.] By *this pendent world* is not meant the Earth; but the new creation, Heaven and Earth, the whole orb of fix'd stars im-

menely bigger than the Earth, a mere point in comparison. This is sure from what Chaos had lately said, ver. 1004.

Now lately Heav'n and Earth,
 another world,
 Hung o'er my realm, sink'd in
 a golden chain.

Besides, Satan did not see the Earth yet; he was afterwards surpris'd at the sudden view of all this world at once, III. 542. and wander'd long on the outside of it; till at last he saw our sun, and learned there of the Arch-Angel Uriel, where the Earth and Paradise were. See III. 722. *This pendent world* therefore must mean the whole world, the new created universe, and *behold far off* it appear'd in comparison with the empyreal Heaven no bigger than a star of smallest magnitude; nay not so large, it appear'd to be when it is close by the moon, the superior light whereof makes any star that happens to be near her disk, to seem exceedingly small and almost disappear. Dr. Bentley has strangely mistaken the sense of this


Of smallest magnitude close by the moon.
Thither full fraught with mischievous revenge,
Accurs'd, and in a curs'd hour he hies. 1055

This passage, understanding that the Earth was meant, and yet arguing very justly that the Earth could not be meant: and Mr. Addison has fallen into the like mistake, as appears from his words; "The glimmering light which shot into the Chaos from the utmost verge of the creation, with the distant discovery of the Earth that hung close by the moon, are wonderfully beautiful and poetical." But how much more wonderful is the imagination of such prodigious distance, that after Satan had traveled on so far, and

comes within view of the whole world, it should still appear in comparison with the empyreal Heaven no bigger than the smallest star, and that star appearing yet smaller by its proximity to the moon! and how much more beautiful and poetical is it to open the scene thus by degrees! Satan at first descries the whole world at a distance in book the second, and then in book the third he discovers our planetary system and the sun; and afterwards by the direction of Uriel the earth and neighbouring moon.

The end of the Second Book.





THE
THIRD BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

THE ARGUMENT.

God sitting on his throne sees Satan flying towards this world, then newly created; shows him to the Son who sat at his right hand; foretels the success of Satan in perverting mankind; clears his own justice and wisdom from all imputation, having created Man free and able enough to have withstood his tempter; yet declares his purpose of grace towards him, in regard he fell not of his own malice, as did Satan, but by him seduc'd. The Son of God renders praises to his Father for the manifestation of his gracious purpose towards Man; but God again declares, that Grace cannot be extended towards Man without the satisfaction of divine justice; Man hath offended the majesty of God by aspiring to Godhead, and therefore with all his progeny devoted to death must die, unless some one can be found sufficient to answer for his offense, and undergo his punishment. The Son of God freely offers himself a ransom for Man: the Father accepts him, ordains his incarnation, pronounces his exaltation above all names in Heaven and Earth; commands all the Angels to adore him; they obey, and hymning to their harps in full quire, celebrate the Father and the Son. Mean while Satan alights upon the bare convex of this world's outermost orb; where wand'ring he first finds a place, since call'd The Limbo of Vanity; what persons and things fly up thither; thence comes to the gate of Heaven, describ'd ascending by stairs, and the waters above the firmament that flow about it: His passage thence to the orb of the sun; he finds there Uriel the regent of that orb, but first changes himself into the shape of a meaner Angel; and pretending a zealous desire to behold the new creation, and Man whom God had plac'd here, inquires of him the place of his habitation, and is directed; alights first on mount Niphates.



1950

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RADISE LOST.

B O O K III.

ALL holy Light, offspring of Heav'n first-born,
Or of th' Eternal coeternal beam

[express thee' unblam'd? since God is light,
And

we advise a poet to con-
sistently the nature and
his genius. Milton seems
known perfectly well,
his strength lay, and has
chosen a subject entirely
able to those talents, of
he was master. As his ge-
wonderfully turned to the
his subject is the noblest
had entered into the
of man. Every thing
truly great and astonishing
lies in it. The whole system
intellectual world, the Chaos
Creation; Heaven, Earth,
all, enter into the constitu-
tion of his poem. Having in the
second books represented
the material world with all its hor-
rors, he threads his fable natu-
rally into the opposite re-
gion of bliss and glory. *Addison.*
[*Of holy Light, &c.*] Our au-
dience to Light, and lament-
ing his own blindness may
be censur'd as an excre-
scence or digression not agreeable
to the rules of epic poetry; but
it is so charming a part of
the poem, that the most critical

reader, I imagine, cannot wish it
were omitted. One is even pleas'd
with a fault, if it be a fault, that
is the occasion of so many beauties,
and acquaints us so much with the
circumstances and character of the
author.

2. *Or of th' eternal coeternal beam
May I express thee' unblam'd?]*
Or may I without blame call thee,
the coeternal beam of the eternal
God? The Ancients were very
cautious and curious by what names
they address'd their deities, and Mil-
ton in imitation of them questions
whether he should address the Light
as the first-born of Heaven, or as
the coeternal beam of the eternal
Father, or as a pure ethereal
stream whose fountain is unknown:
But as the second appellation seems
to ascribe a proper eternity to
Light, Milton very justly doubts
whether he might use that without
blame.

3. — *since God is light,
And — in unapproach'd light
Dwells —*] From 1 John I. 5:
*God is light, and in him is no dark-
ness at all.* And 1 Tim. VI. 16.
Who only hath immortality, dwelling
in

Escap'd the Stygian pool, though long detain'd
 In that obscure sojourn, while in my flight 15
 Through utter and through middle darkness borne
 With other notes than to th' Orphéan lyre
 I sung of Chaos and eternal Night,
 Taught by the heav'nly Muse to venture down
 The dark descent, and up to re-ascend, 20
 Though hard and rare: thee I revisit safe,
 And feel thy sovran vital lamp; but thou
 Revisit'ft not these eyes, that roll in vain

To

that is here applied to Chaos, *without form and void*. A short but noble description of Chaos, which is said to be *infinite*, as it extended underneath, as Heaven above, infinitely. *Richardson.*

16. *Through utter and through middle darkness*] Through Hell which is often call'd *utter darkness*, and through the great gulf between Hell and Heaven, the *middle darkness*.

17. *With other notes than to th' Orphéan lyre &c.*] Orpheus made a hymn to Night, which is still extant; he also wrote of the creation out of Chaos. See Apoll. Rhodius I. 493. Orpheus was inspir'd by his mother Calliope only, Milton by the *heav'nly Muse*; therefore he boasts he sung with other notes than Orpheus, tho' the subjects were the same. *Richardson.*

19. *Taught by the heav'nly Muse*
 Vol. I.

&c.] He was not only *taught* by the Muse *to venture down*, which indeed was not very hard and difficult, but also *up to reascend*, tho' *hard and rare*, which is manifestly an allusion to Virgil, *Æn. VI. 128.*

Sed revocare gradum, superasque
 evadere ad auras
 Hoc opus, hic labor est; pauci,
 quos æquus amavit
 Jupiter, aut ardens exivit ad æ-
 thera virtus,
 Dis geniti potuere.

But to return, and view the cheer-
 ful skies,
 In this the task, and mighty labor
 lies:
 To few great Jupiter imparts this
 grace,
 And those of shining worth and
 heav'nly race. Dryden.

X

25. 50

To find thy piercing ray, and find no dawn;
 So thick a drop serene hath quench'd their orbs, 25
 Or dim suffusion veil'd. Yet not the more
 Cease I to wander, where the Muses haunt
 Clear spring, or shady grove, or sunny hill,

Smit

25. *So thick a drop serene hath quench'd their orbs,*
Or dim suffusion veil'd.] *Drop serene* or *Gutta serena*. It was formerly thought that that sort of blindness was an incurable extinction or quenching of sight by a transparent, watry, cold humor distilling upon the optic nerve, tho' making very little change in the eye to appearance, if any; 'tis

wrote to his friend Leonard Philara, an Athenian then at Paris, for him to consult Dr. Thevenot; he sent his case ('tis in the 15th of his familiar letters): what answer he had is not known; but it seems by this passage that he was not certain what his disease was: or perhaps he had a mind to describe both the great causes of blindness according to what was known at

with the love of sacred song; but chief

Sion, and the flowry brooks beneath, 30

wash thy hallow'd feet, and warbling flow,

ly I visit: nor sometimes forget

other two equal'd with me in fate,

So

*mit with the love of sacred
ing;]* So Virgil. Georg.

Dulces ante omnia Musæ,
n sacra fero ingenti per-
ius amore.

— the flowry brooks beneath,]
and Siloah. He still was
to study the beauties of the
poets, but his highest de-
sires in the songs of Sion, in
7 Scriptures, and in these
rated day and night. This
use of the passage stript of
cal ornaments.

— nor sometimes forget] 'Tis
: as *and sometimes not forget.*
neque in Latin are fre-
quently the same as *et non.*

Pearce.

These other two &c.] It has
again'd that Milton dictated
vers too, which tho' different
yet is not distinguishable
1, so that they might easily
ken the one for the other.
acts of speech perhaps we
read *others* instead of *other*,
vers too: but *these other* may
be used as well as *these other*
'83. — *these other wheel*
' : but then it must be ac-
cused that *too* is a sorry

botch at best. The most probable
explanation of this passage I con-
ceive to be this. Tho' he men-
tions *four*, yet there are but *two*
whom he particularly desires to re-
semble, and those he distinguishes
both with the epithet *blind* to make
the likeness the more striking.

Blind Thamyris and blind Mæonides.

Mæonides is Homer, so call'd from
the name of his father Mæon: and
no wonder our poet desires to
equal him in renown, whose writ-
ings he so much studied, admir'd
and imitated. The character of
Thamyris is not so well known and
establish'd: but Homer mentions
him in the Iliad. II. 595; and Eu-
stathius ranks him with Orpheus
and Musæus, the most celebrated
poets and musicians. That lustful
challenge of his to the nine Muses
was probably nothing more than
a fable invented to express his vio-
lent love and affection for poetry.
Plato mentions his hymns with
honor in the beginning of his
eighth book of Laws, and towards
the conclusion of the last book of
his Republic feigns, upon the prin-
ciples of transmigration, that the
soul of *Thamyris* passed into a
nightingale. He was a Thracian
by

So were I equal'd with them in renown,
 Blind Thamyras and blind Mæonides, 35
 And Tiresias and Phineus prophets old :
 Then feed on thoughts, that voluntary move
 Harmonious numbers; as the wakeful bird
 Sings darkling, and in shadeiest covert hid
 Tunes her nocturnal note. Thus with the year 40
 Seasons return, but not to me returns

Day,

by birth, and invented the Doric mood or measure, according to Pliny, L. 7. c. 57. Plutarch in his treatise of Music says that he had the finest voice of any of his time, and wrote a poem of the

Dr. Bentley is totally for rejecting this verse, and objects to the bad accent of *Tiresias*: but as Dr. Pearce observes the accent may be mended by supposing that the interlin'd copy intended this order of

or the sweet approach of ev'n or morn,
 ght of vernal bloom, or summer's rose,
 ocks, or herds, or human face divine;
 cloud instead, and ever-during dark 45
 ounds me, from the chearful ways of men
 off, and for the book of knowledge fair
 nted with a universal blank
 ature's works to me expung'd and ras'd,

And

could better express the muf-
 ightfulness of a blind poet.
 hrase was perhaps borrowed
 he following line of Spenser's
 of the Mules,

d on sweet contentment of
 y thought. *Tbger.*

— *that voluntary move*
monious numbers; &c.] And
 ader will observe the flowing
 : numbers here with all the
 nd harmony of the finest vo-
 y. The words seem of them-
 to have fall'n naturally into
 almost without the poet's
 ng of it. And this harmony
 rs to greater advantage for
 ughness of some of the pre-
 ; verses, which is an artifice
 ntly practic'd by Milton, to
 eless of his numbers in some
 , the better to set off the
 ul flow of those which imme-
 r fellow.

— *darkling.*] It is said that
 word was coin'd by our an-

thor, but I find it used several
 times in Shakespear and the au-
 thors of that age. Lear's fool says,
 A& I. So out went the candle, and
 we were left *darkling*.

41. *Seasons return, but not to me*
returns] This beautiful turn
 of the words is copied from the
 beginning of the third act of Gua-
 rini's *Pastor Fido*. *Mirtillo* ad-
 dresses the spring.

Tu torni ben, ma teco
 Non tornano &c.
 Tu torni ben, tu torni,
 Ma teco altro non torna &c.

Thou art return'd; but the fe-
 licity
 Thou brought'st me last is not re-
 turn'd with thee:
 Thou art return'd; but nought
 returns with thee
 Save my last joys regretful me-
 mory. *Fanshawe.*

49. *Of nature's works &c.]*
 Dr. Bentley reads *All nature's map*
 &c. because (he says) *a blank of*
works

And wisdom at one entrance quite shut out. 50
 So much the rather thou, celestial Light,
 Shine inward, and the mind through all her powers
 Irradiate, there plant eyes, all mist from thence
 Purge and disperse, that I may see and tell
 Of things invifible to mortal fight. 55

Now

works is an unphilosophical expression. If so, and if the sentence muſt terminate at *blank*, why may we not read?

Presented with an univerfal blank;
 All nature's works to me expung'd
 and ras'd,

of it and them ever ſo paſſionately and ſo patiently lamented. They that will read the moſt excellent Homer, bemoaning the ſame miſfortune, will find him far ſhort of this. Herodotus in his life gives us ſome verſes, in which he bewailed his blindneſs. *Hume.*

Now had th' almighty Father from above,
 From the pure empyréan where he sits
 High thron'd above all highth, bent down his eye,
 His own works and their works at once to view:
 About him all the Sanctities of Heaven 60
 Stood thick as stars, and from his sight receiv'd

Beatitude

nec tam oculorum hebetudine,
 quam cælestium alarum umbrâ has
 nobis fecisse tenebras videtur, factas
 illustrare rursus interiore ac longè
 præstabiliorè lumine haud raro
 solet.

56. *Now had th' almighty Father*
 &c.] The survey of the whole
 creation, and of every thing that
 is transacted in it, is a prospect
 worthy of omniscience; and as
 much above that, in which Virgil
 has drawn his Jupiter, as the Chri-
 stian idea of the supreme Being is
 more rational and sublime than
 that of the Heathens. The par-
 ticular objects, on which he is de-
 scribed to have cast his eye, are
 represented in the most beautiful
 and lively manner. *Addison.*
 This picture of the Almighty's
 looking down from Heaven is
 much the same with that which
 Tasso gives in the following lines,
 Cant. 1. St. 7.

Quando da l'alto foglio il Padre
 eterno,
 Ch' è ne la parte più del Ciel fin-
 cera :

E quanto è da le stelle al basso
 inferno,
 Tanto è più in sù de la stellata
 sphaera:
 Gli occhi in giù volse, e in un
 sol punto, e in una
 Vista mirò ciò, che'n se il mondo
 aduna.

When God almighty from his
 lofty throne,
 Set in those parts of Heav'n that
 purest are,
 (As far above the clear stars every
 one,
 As it is hence up to the highest
 star)
 Look'd down, and all at once
 this world beheld,
 Each land, each city, country,
 town, and field. *Fairfax.*
Thyer.

59. — *and their works*] That
 is the works of his own works,
 the operations of his own crea-
 tures, Angels, Men, Devils.

61. — *and from his sight receiv'd*
Beatitude past utterance;] Our
 author here alludes to the *beatific*
wisdom, in which divines suppose
 X 4 the

Beatitude past utterance; on his right
 The radiant image of his glory sat,
 His only Son; on earth he first beheld
 Our two first parents, yet the only two 65
 Of mankind, in the happy garden plac'd,
 Reaping immortal fruits of joy and love,
 Uninterrupted joy, unrival'd love
 In blissful solitude; he then survey'd
 Hell and the gulf between, and Satan there 70
 Coasting the wall of Heav'n on this side Night

In

the happiness of the Saints to or air, but *without firmament*, without any sphere of fixed stars over
Thyer.

the dun air sublime, and ready now
 stoop with wearied wings and willing feet
 the bare outside of this world, that seem'd
 from land imbosom'd, without firmament, 75
 certain which, in ocean or in air.
 from God beholding from his prospect high,
 herein past, present, future he beholds,
 thus to his only Son foreseeing spake.
 Only begotten Son, seest thou what rage 80
 transports our Adversary? whom no bounds

Prescrib'd,

kers. One may, I think, observe that the author proceeds with a kind of fear and trembling, as if he describes the sentiments of the Almighty. He dares not let his imagination its full play, but chooses to confine himself to such thoughts as are drawn from the books of the most orthodox divines, and to such expressions as are to be met with in Scripture. The beauties therefore, which we are to look for in these speeches, are not of a poetical nature, nor so proper to fill the mind with sentiments of grandeur, as with thoughts of devotion. The passages, which they are design'd to express, are a divine love and religious fear. The particular beauty of these speeches in the third book consists in that shortness and percity of style, in which the poet couch'd the greatest mysteries

of Christianity, and drawn together in a regular scheme the whole dispensation of Providence with respect to Man. He has represented all the abstruse doctrines of predestination, free-will and grace, as also the great points of incarnation and redemption (which naturally grow up in a poem that treats of the fall of Man) with great energy of expression, and in a clearer and stronger light than I ever met with in any other writer. As these points are dry in themselves to the generality of readers, the concise and clear manner, in which he has treated them, is very much to be admired, as is likewise that particular art which he has made use of in the interpersing of all those graces of poetry, which the subject was capable of receiving. Satan's approach to the confines of the creation is finely imaged

Prescrib'd, no bars of Hell, nor all the chains
Heap'd on him there, nor yet the main abyfs
Wide interrupt can hold; so bent he seems
On desperate revenge, that shall redound 85
Upon his own rebellious head. And now
Through all restraint broke loose he wings his way
Not far off Heav'n, in the precincts of light,
Directly tow'ards the new created world,
And Man there plac'd, with purpose to assay 90
If him by force he can destroy, or worse,
By some false guile pervert; and shall pervert,
For Man will hearken to his glozing lies,

Book III. PARADISE LOST. 195

Such I created all th' ethereal Powers 100

And Spi'rits, both them who stood and them who fail'd;
Freely they stood who stood, and fell who fell.

Not free, what proof could they have giv'n sincere
Of true allegiance, constant faith or love,

Where only what they needs must do appear'd, 105

Not what they would? what praise could they receive?

What pleasure I from such obedience paid,

When will and reason (reason also' is choice)

Useless and vain, of freedom both despoil'd,

Made passive both, had serv'd necessity, 110

Not me? They therefore as to right belong'd,

So were created, nor can justly' accuse

Their maker, or their making, or their fate,

As if predestination over-rul'd

Their will, dispos'd by absolute decree 115

Or high foreknowledge; they themselves decreed

Their own revolt, not I; if I foreknew,

Fore-

“ Providence for suffering Adam
“ to transgress. Foolish tongues!
“ when God gave him reason, he
“ gave him freedom to choose, for
“ reason is but choosing: he had
“ been else a mere artificial Adam,
“ &c. See his Speech for the liberty
of unlicenc'd printing, p. 149, and
150. Edit. 1738.

117. — *if I foreknew,*] *If here*
does not imply the least doubt or
uncertainty; but is used, as it is
sometimes in the best authors, in
the sense of *Though*. *Though I*
foreknew, that foreknowledge had
no influence.

Foreknowledge had no influence on their fault,
Which had no less prov'd certain unforeknown.
So without least impulse or shadow' of fate, 120
Or ought by me immutably foreseen,
They trespass, authors to themselves in all
Both what they judge and what they choose; for so
I form'd them free, and free they must remain,
Till they inthrall themselves; I else must change 125
Their nature, and revoke the high decree
Unchangeable, eternal, which ordain'd
Their freedom, they themselves ordain'd their fall.
The first sort by their own suggestion fell,

The other none: in mercy' and justice both,
 Through Heav'n and Earth, so shall my glory' excel,
 But mercy first and last shall brightest shine.

Thus while God spake, ambrosial fragrance fill'd
 All Heav'n, and in the blessed Spi'rits elect 136
 Sense of new joy ineffable diffus'd:

Beyond compare the Son of God was seen
 Most glorious; in him all his Father shone
 Substantially express'd; and in his face 140
 Divine compassion visibly appear'd,
 Love without end, and without measure grace,
 Which uttering thus he to his Father spake.

O Father, gracious was that word which clos'd
 Thy sovran sentence, that Man should find grace; 145
 For

his master Homer, and all who followed him, where they are representing the Deity speaking, describe a scene of terror and awful consternation. *The Heavens, Seas and Earth tremble &c.*, and this, to be sure, was consistent enough with their natural notions of the supreme Being: but it would not have been so agreeable to the mild, merciful, and benevolent idea of the Deity upon the Christian scheme, and therefore our author has very judiciously made the words of the Almighty diffusing fragrance and delight to all around

him. There is a passage in Ariosto, which is exactly in the same taste with what Milton has given us, Cant. 29. St. 30.

Dio così disse; e se serena intorno
 L'aria, e tranquillo il mar più che
 mai fusse.

Thus said the Highest, and then
 there did ensue

A wondrous calm in waters and
 in air. Harrington.

Tbyer.

140. *Substantially express'd;*] According to Heb. I. 3. where the Son of God is styled, *the brightness of his*

For which both Heav'n and Earth shall high extol
Thy praises, with th' innumerable sound
Of hymns and sacred songs, wherewith thy throne
Incompass'd shall resound thee ever blest.
For should Man finally be lost, should Man,
Thy creature late so lov'd, thy youngest son,
Fall circumvented thus by fraud, though join'd
With his own folly? that be from thee far,
That far be from thee, Father, who art judge
Of all things made, and judgest only right.
Or shall the Adversary thus obtain
His end, and frustrate thine? shall he fulfil
His malice, and thy goodness bring to nought?

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199

Yet with revenge accomplish'd, and to Hell 160

Draw after him the whole race of mankind,

By him corrupted? or wilt thou thyself

Abolish thy creation, and unmake

For him, what for thy glory thou hast made?

So should thy goodness and thy greatness both 165

Be question'd and blasphem'd without defense.

To whom the great Creator thus reply'd.

O Son, in whom my soul hath chief delight,

Son of my bosom, Son who art alone

My word, my wisdom, and effectual might, 170

All hast thou spoken as my thoughts are, all

As my eternal purpose hath decreed:

Man shall not quite be lost, but sav'd who will,

Yet

Angelic harmonies: the earth, the
air

Refounded. Pearce.

153.—*that be from thee far, &c.*] An imitation of Genesis, XVIII. 25. *That be far from thee to do after this manner, to slay the righteous with the wicked; and that the righteous should be as the wicked, that be far from thee: shall not the judge of all the earth do right?*

158.—*naught,*] This word and ought our author most usually spells naught and ought; and they may be spelt either way; but this is grown obsolete, and the other

may be justify'd as well from the Saxon.

168. O Son, &c.] The Son is here address'd by several titles and appellations borrow'd from Scripture. O Son, in whom my soul hath chief delight, from Mat. III. 17. My beloved Son in whom I am well pleas'd. Son of my bosom, from John I. 18. The only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father. My word, from Rev. XIX. 13. And his name is called the word of God. My wisdom and effectual might, from 1 Cor. I. 24. Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God.

180. By

Yet not of will in him, but grace in me
Freely vouchsaf'd; once more I will renew 175
His lapsed pow'rs, though forfeit and intrall'd
By sin to foul exorbitant desires;
Upheld by me, yet once more he shall stand
On even ground against his mortal foe,
By me upheld, that he may know how frail 180
His fall'n condition is, and to me owe
All his deliverance, and to none but me.
Some I have chosen of peculiar grace
Elect above the rest; so is my will;
The rest shall hear me call, and oft be warn'd 185
Their sinful state, and to appease betimes

To pray'r, repentance, and obedience due,
 Though but endeavor'd with sincere intent,
 Mine ear shall not be slow, mine eye not shut.
 And I will place within them as a guide
 My umpire conscience, whom if they will hear,
 Light after light well us'd they shall attain, 196
 And to the end persisting, safe arrive.

This my long sufferance and my day of grace
 They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste;
 But hard be harden'd, blind be blinded more, 200
 That they may stumble on, and deeper fall;
 And none but such from mercy I exclude.
 But yet all is not done; Man disobeying,
 Disloyal breaks his fealty, and sins
 Against the high supremacy of Heaven, 205
 Offending God-head, and so losing all,
 To expiate his treason hath nought left,

But

as well as to its derivation from
 French *en* and *devoir*.

197. *And to the end persisting, safe arrive.*] *He that endureth to and shall be saved*, Mat. X. 22.

198. *This my long sufferance and my day of grace*

They who neglect and scorn, shall never taste;] It is a great

that our author should have debated the dignity of the

o. l. i.

Deity by putting in his mouth this horrid doctrine of a day of grace, after which it is not possible for a man to repent; and there can be no sort of excuse for him, except the candid reader will make some allowance for the prejudices, which he might possibly receive from the gloomy divinity of that enthusiastic age in which he lived. *Thyer.*

Y

215. — and

say heav'nly Powers, where man we find such ill
 Which of ye will be mortal to redeem
 Man's mortal crime, and just th' unjust to save?
 Dwells in all Heaven charity so dear? .

He ask'd, but all the heav'nly quire stood mute
 And silence was in Heav'n: on Man's behalf
 Patron or intercessor none appear'd,
 Much less that durst upon his own head draw
 The deadly forfeiture, and ransom set.
 And now without redemption all mankind

215.—*and just th' unjust to save?*] That is, Which of ye will be so just as to save the unjust? Which of ye will be righteous enough to supply the defects of others righteousness? It is plainly an allusion to 1 Pet. III. 18. *For Christ also hath once suffer'd for sins, the just for the unjust.*

a silence in Heaven. This beautiful circumstance upon Rev. VIII. 1. where on a certain occasion it is said *was silence in Heaven.* As there was silence in Hell, was propos'd who should on the dangerous expedition from mankind there is

Must have been lost, adjudg'd to Death and Hell
 By doom severe, had not the Son of God,
 In whom the fulness dwells of love divine, 225
 His dearest mediation thus renew'd.

Father, thy word is past, Man shall find grace;
 And shall grace not find means, that finds her way,
 The speediest of thy winged messengers,
 To visit all thy creatures, and to all 230
 Comes unprevented, unimplor'd, unfought?
 Happy for Man, so coming; he her aid
 Can never seek, once dead in sins and lost;
 Atonement for himself or offering meet,
 Indebted and undone, hath none to bring: 235
 Behold me then; me for him, life for life
 I offer; on me let thine anger fall;

Account

places, the difference of the expression is remarkable. In Hell it is said *all sat mute*, II. 420, as there the infernal peers were sitting in council; but here it is said they stood *mute*, as the good Angels were standing round about the throne of God.

231. *Comes unprevented,*] Prevent from *prævenire* to come before. This grace is not preceded by merit or supplication; itself prevents or goes before; 'tis a free gift, as Kl. 3. *Provenient grace descending*, &c. 2 Tim. I. 9. *Not according to*

our works, but according to his own purpose and grace. Psal. LXXXVIII. 13. *But unto thee have I cry'd, O Lord, and in the morning shall my prayer prevent thee.* Here the favor if it comes, comes not *unprevented*; prayer prevents or goes before God's goodness.

Richardson.

236. *Behold me then; me for him, life for life*

I offer; on me let thine anger fall; Account me Man;] The frequent and vehement repetition of *me* here

Account me Man; I for his sake will leave
 Thy bosom, and this glory next to thee
 Freely put off, and for him lastly die 240
 Well pleas'd; on me let Death wreck all his rage;
 Under his gloomy pow'r I shall not long
 Lie vanquish'd; thou hast giv'n me to possess
 Life in myself for ev'r; by thee I live,
 Though now to Death I yield, and am his due 245
 All that of me can die; yet that debt paid,
 Thou wilt not leave me in the loathsome grave
 His prey, nor suffer my unspotted soul
 For ever with corruption there to dwell;
 But I shall rise victorious, and subdued 250
 My vanquisher, spoil'd of his vaunted spoil;
 Death his death's wound shall then receive, and stoop
 Inglorious,

is very like that in Virgil, *Æn.* IX. 427.

Me, me: *adsum qui feci*: in *me*
 convertite ferrum:

and a little afterwards,

Figite me, si qua est pietas: in *me*
 omnia tela

Conjicite, ô *Rutuli*; *me* primum
 absumite ferro.

244. *Life in myself for ev'r*;] For
 as the Father hath life in himself, so
 hath he given to the Son to have life
 in himself, John V. 26.

249. —with corruption there to
 dwell;] According to the
 Psalmist, *For thou wilt not leave my*
soul in Hell, neither suffer thine Holy
One to see corruption, *Psal.* XVI. 10.
 applied to our Saviour's resurrection
 by St. Peter, *Acts* II. 20, 21, &c.
 252. *Death his death's wound shall*
then receive,] I am very
 sorry to observe, that the quaint
 conceit in this line is very incon-
 sistent with the character of the
 speaker, and unworthy of the ma-
 jesty of the rest of the speech.
 Milton might perhaps be led into

Inglorious, of his mortal sting disarm'd.
 I through the ample air in triumph high
 Shall lead Hell captive maugre Hell, and show 255
 The Pow'rs of darkness bound. Thou at the fight
 Pleas'd, out of Heaven shalt look down and smile,
 While by thee rais'd I ruin all my foes,
 Death last, and with his carcass glut the grave:
 Then with the multitude of my redeem'd 260
 Shall enter Heav'n long absent, and return,
 Father, to see thy face, wherein no cloud
 Of anger shall remain, but peace assur'd
 And reconcilment; wrath shall be no more
 Thenceforth, but in thy presence joy entire. 265

His words here ended, but his meek aspect
 Silent yet spake, and breath'd immortal love

To

it by a witticism of the same kind in Seneca, who speaking of the terror Pluto was in from the wound he received from Hercules, says, Herc. Fur. ver. 568.

*Effugit tenui vulnere faucius,
 Et mortis dominus pertimuit mori.*

Thyer.

254. *I through the ample air in triumph high &c.] Thou hast ascended on high, thou hast led captivity captive, Psal. LXVIII. 18. And having spoiled Principalities and Powers, he made a show of them*

openly, triumphing over them in it, Col. II. 15.

259. *Death last,]* According to St. Paul, *The last enemy that shall be destroy'd is Death, 1 Cor. XV. 26.*

266. *His words here ended, but his meek aspect*

Silent yet spake, &c.] What a charming and lovely picture has Milton given us of God the Son consider'd as our Saviour and Redeemer? not in the least inferior in its way to that grander one in the 6th book, where he describes him clothed with majesty and ter-

To mortal men, above which only shone
Filial obedience: as a sacrifice
Glad to be offer'd, he attends the will 270
Of his great Father. Admiration feis'd
All Heav'n, what this might mean, and whither tend
Wond'ring; but soon th' Almighty thus reply'd.

O thou in Heav'n and Earth the only peace
Found out for mankind under wrath, O thou 275
My sole complacence! well thou know'ft how dear
To me are all my works, nor Man the least,
Though last created; that for him I spare
Thee from my bosom and right hand, to save,

And be thyself Man among men on earth,
 Made flesh, when time shall be, of virgin seed,
 By wondrous birth: be thou in Adam's room 285
 The head of all mankind, though Adam's son.
 As in him perish all men, so in thee,
 As from a second root, shall be restor'd
 As many as are restor'd, without thee none.
 His crime makes guilty all his sons; thy merit 290
 Imputed shall absolve them who renounce
 Their own both righteous and unrighteous deeds,
 And live in thee transplanted, and from thee
 Receive new life. So Man, as is most just,
 Shall satisfy for Man, be judg'd and die, 295
 And dying rise, and rising with him raise
 His brethren, ransom'd with his own dear life.

So

*ering thou didst not desire, mine ears
 wast thou opened; burnt-offering and
 in-offering hast thou not required:
 Then said I, Lo I come; in the vo-
 lume of the book it is written of me:
 I delight to do thy will, O my God;
 ea, thy law is within my heart.*

277. — *nor Man the least,*] The
 cast dear, *Though last created;*
 somewhat like Shakespear's Lear
 o Cordelia, A& I.

— *Now our joy,
 Although our last, not least.*

And Antony to Trebonius, Jul.
 Cæs. A& III.

Though last, not least in love.

281. — *whom thou only canst re-
 deem,*

Their nature] That is, the nature
 of them, whom thou only canst
 redeem. A manner of speaking
 very usual with our author.

287. *As in him perish all men, &c.]*
For as in Adam all die, even so in
Christ shall all be made alive, 1 Cor.
XV. 22.

Y 4

299. *Giving*

So heav'nly love shall outdo hellish hate,
 Giving to death, and dying to redeem,
 So dearly to redeem what hellish hate 300
 So easily destroy'd, and still destroys
 In those who, when they may, accept not grace.
 Nor shalt thou, by descending to assume
 Man's nature, lessen or degrade thine own.
 Because thou hast, though thron'd in highest bliss
 Equal to God, and equally enjoying 306
 God-like fruition, quitted all to save
 A world from utter loss, and hast been found
 By merit more than birthright Son of God,
 Found worthiest to be so by being good, 310
 Far

299. *Giving to death, and dying to redeem.*] The love of the Father in giving the Son to death, and the love of the Son in submitting to it and dying to redeem mankind. Mr. Warburton thus explains it. "Milton's system of divinity taught, says he, not only that Man was redeemed, but likewise that a real price was paid for his redemption; dying to redeem therefore signifying only redemption in a vague uncertain sense, but imperfectly represents his system; so imperfectly that it may as well be called the Socinian; the price paid (which implies a proper re-

demption) is wanting. But to pay a price implying a voluntary act, the poet therefore well expresses it by *giving to death*; that is giving himself to death; so that the sense of the line fully expresses Milton's notion, *Heavenly love gave a price for the redemption of mankind, and by virtue of that price really redeemed them.*"

301. — *and still destroys*] Dr. Bentley objects to *still destroys*, that this speech is before Adam's fall, and therefore he thinks that Milton gave it *and will destroy*. But there are many passages in these speeches of God and Messiah, where

Far more than great or high; because in thee
 Love hath abounded more than glory' abounds,
 Therefore thy humiliation shall exalt
 With thee thy manhood also to this throne;
 Here shalt thou sit incarnate, here shalt reign 315
 Both God and Man, Son both of God and Man,
 Anointed universal king; all power
 I give thee; reign for ever, and assume
 Thy merits; under thee as head supreme
 Thrones, Princedoms, Pow'rs, Dominions I reduce:
 All knees to thee shall bow, of them that bide 321
 In Heav'n, or Earth, or under Earth in Hell.
 When thou attended gloriously from Heaven
 Shalt

here the fall is spoken of as a thing past; perhaps because all things, even future ones, are present to the divine Mind. Thus we read in ver. 151.

Thy creature late so lov'd:
 and ver. 181.

— that he may know how frail
 His fall'n condition is: —

and yet these two passages, with others of the same kind, Dr. Bentley has suffer'd to stand uncensur'd.

Pearce.

306. *Equal to God, and equally enjoying*

God-like fruition,] This deserves

notice as an instance of Milton's orthodoxy with relation to the divinity of God the Son.

317. — *all power*

I give thee;] Mat. XXVIII. 18.

All power is given unto me.

318. — *and assume*

Thy merits;] Imitated from Horace's *Sume superbiam quasitam meritis*, Od. III. XXX. 14. but adapted to the divine Person to whom it is spoken.

321. *All knees to thee shall bow, &c.]* *That at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in Heaven, and things in Earth, and things under the Earth,* Philip. II. 10.

Loud as from numbers without number, sweet
 As from blest voices, uttering joy, Heav'n rung
 With jubilee, and loud Hosanna's fill'd
 Th' eternal regions: lowly reverent
 Tow'ards either throne they bow, and to the ground
 With solemn adoration down they cast 351
 Their crowns inwove with amarant and gold;
 Immortal amarant, a flow'r which once

In

a shout loud as &c. Heav'n rung, &c. where the first words are put in the ablative case absolutely.

Pearce.

351.

— down they cast

lasting amarant, which he has finely set near the tree of life. Amaranthus flos, symbolum est immortalitatis. Clem. Alexand. Hume.

357.

— the fount of life, and

Paradise, fast by the tree of life,
 gan to bloom; but soon for man's offense 355
 Heav'n remov'd, where first it grew, there grows,
 and flow'rs aloft shading the fount of life,
 and where the riv'ers of bliss through midst of Heaven
 roll o'er Elysian flow'rs her amber stream;
 with these that never fade the Spi'rits elect 360
 and their resplendent locks inwreath'd with beams,

Now

that only sometimes roll over
 them, to water them. And yet
 (Dr. Pearce) I am rather inclin'd
 to think, that the poet here
 never means through or among.
 Mr. Jortin understands *Rolls o'er*
rolls through or by; and observes
 Horace uses the verb *præterire*
 in such the same manner, Od. IV.
 - 3.

— et decrefcentia ripas
 amina prætereunt,

by and within their banks. But
 we understand the passage as it
 is express'd, there is no kind of ab-
 sence of it; for we frequently see
 reeds and weeds and flowers grow-
 ing under water: and we may
 therefore suppose the finest flowers
 grow at the bottom of the river
 itself, or rather the river to roll
 over them sometimes, to water
 them. The author seems to in-
 tend much the same thing that he
 expresses in IV. 240. where
 the king of the brooks in Paradise
 says they

Ran nectar, visiting each plant,
 and fed
 Flow'rs worthy of Paradise.

And as there they are flow'rs worthy
 of Paradise, so here they are worthy
 of Elysium, the region of the Blef-
 sed: and he makes use of the same
 expression in his poem call'd L'Al-
 legro,

From golden slumber on a bed
 Of heap'd Elysian flow'rs.

And then as to his calling it *amber*
stream, it is only on account of its
 clearness and transparency, and
 not at all on account of its color,
 that he compares it to amber. The
 clearness of amber was proverbial
 among the Ancients; Callimachus
 in his hymn to Ceres, ver. 29. has
αλεκλεινον υδωρ; and in like man-
 ner Virgil says of a river, Georg.
 III. 522.

Purior electo campum petit amnis.

360. *With these that never fade* }
 Dr. Bentley reads *with this that*
never

Approach not, but with both wings veil their eyes.
 Thee next they sang of all creation first,
 Begotten Son, Divine Similitude,
 In whose conspicuous count'nance, without cloud
 Made visible, th' almighty Father shines, 386
 Whom else no creature can behold; on thee
 Impres'd th' effulgence of his glory' abides,
 Transfus'd on thee his ample Spirit rests.
 He Heav'n of Heav'ns and all the Pow'rs therein
 By thee created, and by thee threw down 391
 Th' aspiring Dominations: thou that day
 Thy Father's dreadful thunder didst not spare,
 Nor stop thy flaming chariot wheels, that shook
 Heav'n's everlasting frame, while o'er the necks 395
 Thou drov'st of warring Angels difarray'd.

Back

382. *Approach not,*] So Ovid Met. II. 22.

Constititque procul, neque enim propiora ferebat

Lumina.

but with both wings veil their eyes. So they are represented in Isaiah's vision of the throne of God: *Above it stood the Seraphims; each one had six wings; with twain he cover'd his face, &c.* Isa. VI. 2.

383. — *of all creation first,*] So

in Col. I. 15. *the first-born of every creature or of all creation, &c.* *ἀριστος*; and Rev. III. 14. *the beginning of the creation of God.*

387. *Whom else no creature can behold;*] No creature can otherwise behold the Father but in and through the Son. *No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him,* John I. 18. *But He that hath seen me, hath seen the Father,* John XIV. 9.

398. *The*

see, Father, first they sung Omnipotent,
 utable, Immortal, Infinite,
 al King; thee Author of all being,
 tain of light, thyself invisible 375
 lft the glorious brightness where thou sitt
 n'd inaccessible, but when thou shad'ft
 full blaze of thy beams, and through a cloud
 rn round about thee like a radiant shrine,
 with excessive bright thy skirts appear, 380
 lazle Heav'n, that brightest Seraphim

Approach

*Thron'd inaccessible, but when
 thou shad'ft]* The word *but*
 s the same as *except, unless;*
ible but when thou shad'ft,
 then only accessible, when
 had'ft &c. Perhaps Milton
 a view what Ovid says of
 so when his son Phaeton
 to him, Met. II. 39.

*ircum caput omne micantes
 suit radios, propiusque ac-
 edere jussit. Pearce.*

*Dark with excessive bright
 thy skirts appear,]* Milton has
 me thought of darkness oc-
 'd by glory, V. 599. *Bright-
 nd made invisible.* This also
 ns his meaning here; the ex-
 : brightness had the effect of
 fs, invisibility. What an
 f glory! the skirts only not
 look'd on by the beings
 : to God, but when doubly

or trebly shaded by a cloud and
 both wings. What then is the full
 blaze! *Richardson.*

In like manner Tasso describing
 the Almighty in Heaven, Cant. 9.
 St. 57.

Quivi ei così nel suo splendor s'in-
 volve,
 Che v'abbaglian la vista anco i
 più degni.

The same thought in Spenser's
 Hymn of heavenly Beauty, but
 more languidly express'd,

With the great glory of that won-
 drous light
 His throne is all incompass'd a-
 round,
*And bid in his own brightness from
 the sight
 Of all that look thereon &c.*
Thyer.

Their happy hours in joy and hymning spent
 Mean while upon the firm opacous globe
 Of this round world, whose first convex divide
 The luminous inferior orbs inclos'd
 From Chaos and th' inroad of Darknes old,

412. *Hail Son of God,*] So in the conclusion of the hymn to Hercules mention'd before. *Æn.* VIII. 301.

Salve vera Jovis proles, decus addite Divis.

413. — *the copious matter of my song*] Dr. Bentley reads here *our song*; but why may not Milton take the liberty us'd in the ancient chorus, where sometimes the plural, and sometimes the singular number is us'd? Or it may be said that Milton speaks in his own person, or rather narrates than gives us the words as if

It is to be noted that the end of this hymn is in imitation of the hymns of Homer and Callimachus, who always promise to recite future hymns. *Richardson.*

418. *Mean while upon the firm opacous globe*] Satan's walk upon the circumference of the universe, which at a distance appeared to him of a globe, but upon his near approach look'd like an unbounded plain, is natural and noble: the creation between that matter, which was wrought into form, and that shapeless unform'd

atan alighted walks : a globe far off
 : seem'd, now seems a boundless continent
 bark, waste, and wild, under the frown of Night
 barless expos'd, and ever-threatning storms 425
 Of Chaos blust'ring round, inclement sky ;
 ave on that side which from the wall of Heaven,
 Though distant far, some small reflection gains
 Of glimmering air less vex'd with tempest loud :
 Here walk'd the Fiend at large in spacious field. 430
 As when a vultur on Imaus bred,

Whose

from Hell to Earth in order to
 destroy mankind, but lighting first
 on the bare convex of this world's
 sermoest orb, a sea of land as the
 poet calls it, is very fitly com-
 pared to a vultur flying, in quest
 of his prey, tender lambs or kids
 seven-year'd, from the barren rocks
 the more fruitful hills and
 plains of India, but lighting in
 his way on the plains of Sericana,
 which were in a manner a sea
 of land too, the country being so
 smooth and open that carriages
 are driven (as travelers report)
 with sails and wind. *Imaus* is a ce-
 lebrated mountain in Asia; its
 name signifies *snowy* in the lan-
 guage of the inhabitants according
 to Pliney, Lib. 6. cap. 21. *incola-
 ma lingua nivofum significante* ;
 and therefore it is said here *whose
 snowy ridge*. It is the boundary to
 the east of the Western Tartars,

who are called *roving*, as they live
 chiefly in tents, and remove from
 place to place for the convenience
 of pasturage, their herds of cattle
 and what they take in hunting
 being their principal subsistence.
Ganges and *Hydaspes* are famous
 rivers of India; and *Serica* is a
 region betwixt China to the east
 and the mountain Imaus to the
 west: and what our author here
 says of the *Chinese*, he seems to
 have taken from Heylin's *Cosmo-
 graphy*, p. 867. where it is said,
 " Agreeable unto the observation
 " of modern writers, the country
 " is so plain and level, that they
 " have carts and coaches driven
 " with sails, as ordinarily as drawn
 " with horses, in these parts." Our
 author supposes these carriages to
 be made of *cane*, to render the
 thing somewhat more probable. It
 may be thought the less incredible,

Whose snowy ridge the roving Tartar bounds,
 Dislodging from a region scarce of prey
 To gorge the flesh of lambs or yeanling kids
 On hills where flocks are fed, flies tow'ard the
 springs 435
 Of Ganges or Hydaspes, Indian streams;

But

as there was a man lately at Bath who attempted something of the same nature, and could really drive his machine without horses by the help of wind and sail upon Marlborough Downs, but it would not serve upon the road; it did well enough upon the plain, but he could not make it go up hill.

— in this place I have be-

may produce in the reader at the same time both belief and astonishment. This is brought to pass in a well-chosen fable, by the account of such things as have really happen'd, or at least of such things as have happen'd according to the received opinions of mankind. Milton's fable is a master-piece of this nature: as the use in the

at in his way lights on the barren plains
 of Sericana, where Chineses drive
 With sails and wind their cary waggons light:
 On this windy sea of land, the Fiend 440
 Talk'd up and down alone, bent on his prey;
 Alone, for other creature in this place

Living

machinery which fills the poems
 of Homer and Virgil with
 circumstances as are wonder-
 ful, but not impossible, and so fre-
 quently produce in the reader the
 most pleasing passion that can rise
 the mind of man, which is ad-
 miration. If there be any instance
 in the *Aeneid* liable to exception
 on this account, it is in the be-
 ginning of the third book, where
 neas is represented as tearing
 the myrtle that dropped blood.

To qualify this wonderful circum-
 stance, Polydorus tells a story from
 the root of the myrtle, that the
 barbarous inhabitants of the coun-
 try having pierced him with spears
 and arrows, the wood which was
 in his body took root in his
 wounds, and gave birth to that
 edifying tree. This circumstance
 seems to have the marvelous with-
 out the probable, because it is re-
 sulted as proceeding from nat-
 ural causes, without the interposi-
 tion of any God, or other super-
 natural power capable of pro-
 ducing it. The spears and arrows
 grew of themselves, without so-
 much as the modern help of an im-
 plantment. If we look into the

fiction of Milton's fable, though
 we find it full of surprising inci-
 dents, they are generally suited to
 our notions of the things and per-
 sons described, and tempered with
 a due measure of probability. I
 must only make an exception to
 the Limbo of Vanity, with his
 episode of Sin and Death, and
 some of the imaginary persons in
 his Chaos. These passages are
 astonishing, but not credible; the
 reader cannot so far impose upon
 himself, as to see a possibility in
 them; they are the description of
 dreams and shadows, not of things
 or persons. I know that many
 critics look upon the stories of
 Circe, Polypheme, the Sirens, nay
 the whole *Odyssey* and *Iliad*, to
 be allegories; but allowing this to
 be true, they are fables, which
 considering the opinions of man-
 kind that prevailed in the age of
 the poet, might possibly have been,
 according to the letter. The per-
 sons are such as might have acted
 what is ascribed to them, as the
 circumstances in which they are re-
 presented, might possibly have been
 truths and realities. This appear-
 ance of probability is so absolutely

Living or lifeless to be found was none;
 None yet, but store hereafter from the earth
 Up hither like acreal vapors flew 4
 Of all things transitory' and vain, when sin
 With vanity had fill'd the works of men;
 Both all things vain, and all who in vain things
 Built their fond hopes of glory' or lasting fame,
 Or happiness in this or th' other life; 4
 All who have their reward on earth, the fruits

requisite in the greater kinds of poetry, that Aristotle observes the ancient tragic writers made use of the names of such great men as had actually lived in the world, tho' the tragedy proceeded upon adventures they were never engaged in, on purpose to make the subject more credible. In a word, besides the hidden meaning of an epic allegory, the plain literal sense ought to appear probable. The story should be such as an ordinary reader may acquiesce in, whatever natural, moral, or political truth may be discovered in it by men of greater penetration.

Adlison.

443. — *lifeless*.] Milton writes it *liveless*; but I conceive the word to be compounded of *less* and the substantive *life*, and not of the verb *live*, *liveless* without life, as *feareless* without fear, *listless* without list or desire, *peerless*, *rustless*, *shapeless*, &c.

444. *None yet, &c.*] Dr. Ben is for rejecting this verse and four more which follow as a fiction of the editor; but I think there can be no doubt of their truthfulness, whatever there may be of their goodness. Mr. Richardson thinks the *Paradise of Fools* finely imagin'd, but it must own'd that it is formed more to the taste of the Italian poets than of the Ancients.

457. — *and in vain*.] To wonder in vain as commonly understood would be a weak expression but it has the force of the Greek *αὐτὰρ*, the Latin *frustra*, *infortunato*, *nullo consilio*, at random. Richardson.

459. *Not in the neighbouring as some have dream'd*.] A sto particularly, who in his *Ordo Furioso*, Cant. 34. St. 70, gives a much larger description of things lost upon earth and treat

Of painful superstition and blind zeal,
 Nought seeking but the praise of men, here find
 Fit retribution, empty as their deeds;
 All th' unaccomplish'd works of Nature's hand, 455
 Abortive, monstrous, or unkindly mix'd,
 Dissolv'd on earth, fleet hither, and in vain,
 Till final dissolution, wander here,
 Not in the neighb'ring moon, as some have
 dream'd ;

Those

up in the moon, than our poet here makes of the Limbo of Vanity. The reader may have a taste of it in the following stanza's of Harrington's translation,

A store-house strange, that what
 on earth is lost
 By fault, by time, by fortune, there
 is found,
 And like a merchandize is there
 ingross,
 In stranger sort than I can well
 expound ;
 Nor speak I sole of wealth, or
 things of cost,
 In which blind fortune's pow'r
 doth most abound,
 But e'en of things quite out of for-
 tune's pow'r,
 Which wilfully we waste each day
 and hour.

The precious time that fools mis-
 pend in play,
 The vain attempts that never take
 effect,

The vows that sinners make and
 never pay,
 The counsels wife that careless
 men neglect,
 The fond desires that lead us oft
 astray,
 The praises that with pride the
 heart infect,
 And all we lose with folly and
 mispending,
 May there be found unto this place
 ascending.

And so he proceeds in enumerating other particulars, the vanity of titles, false flatteries, fond loves, great men's promises, court-services, death-bed alms, &c. and men's wits kept in jars like oil. Our late great English poet has likewise made fine use of this notion in his Rape of the Lock, Cant. 5. as indeed it seems to be fitter for a mock-heroic poem than for the true epic.

Those argent fields more likely habitants, 460
 Translated Saints, or middle Spirits hold
 Betwixt th' angelical and human kind.
 Hither of ill-join'd sons and daughters born
 First from the ancient world those giants came
 With many a vain exploit, though then renown'd:
 The builders next of Babel on the plain 466
 Of

Some thought it mounted to the
 lunar sphere,

Since all things lost on earth are
 treasur'd there.

There hero's wits are kept in
 pond'rous vases,

And beau's in snuff-boxes and
 tweezer-cases.

There broken vows and death

is certainly less considerable in it-
 self than our earth, it is not likely
 that its inhabitants should be so
 much more considerable.

463. *Hither of ill-join'd sons and
 daughters born &c.* } He
 means *the sons of God* ill-join'd with
the daughters of men, alluding to that
 part of Scripture Gen. VI. 1. *There*

Of Sennaar, and still with vain design
 New Babels, had they wherewithal, would build ;
 Others came single ; he who to be deem'd
 A God, leap'd fondly into Ætna flames,
 Empedocles ; and he who to enjoy
 Plato's Elyfium, leap'd into the sea,
 Cleombrotus ; and many more too long,

Embryo's

frequently does in the names of places.

471. *Empedocles*;] The scholar of Pythagoras, a philosopher and poet, born at Agrigentum in Sicily: he wrote of the nature of things in Greek, as Lucretius did in Latin verse. He stealing one night from his followers threw himself into the flaming Ætna, that being no where to be found, he might be esteemed to be a God, and to be taken up into Heaven; but his iron pattens, being thrown out by the fury of the burning mountain, discover'd his defeated ambition, and ridiculed his folly. Hor. de Art. Poet. 464.

— Deus immortalis haberi
 Dum cupit Empedocles, ardentem
 frigidus Ætnam
 Infuluit. *Hume.*

473. *Cleombrotus*;] The name is rightly placed the last word in the sentence, as *Empedocles* was before. He was called Ambraciota of Ambracia, a city of Epirus in Greece. Having read over Plato's book of the Soul's immortality and happi-

ness in another life, he was so ravish'd with the account of it, that he leap'd from a high wall into the sea, that he might immediately enjoy it. His death is celebrated by Callimachus in one of his epigrams, Ep. 29. which we will subjoin with Frischlinus his translation.

Εἶπας ἦλπε χαιρε, Κλεομβροτῶ
 ὦ ἄμβρακιότης,
 Ἥλατ' ἀφ' ὑψηλῆς τευχῆς εἰς
 αἰθ' ἴν'
 Ἀξίον κέν ἰδὼν θάνατον κακόν,
 ἀλλὰ Πλάτωνῶ
 Ἐν τῷ περὶ ψυχῆς γράμμ' ἀνα-
 λείξασθαι.

Phœbe vale dicens, de rupe Cleombrotus alta
 Ambraciota, Stygis vivus adivit
 aquas.

Funere nil dignum passus : solùm-
 que Platōnis
 De vita mentis perpete legit
 opus.

And from hence other authors seem to have taken his story, as Cicero Tusc. Disp. I. 34. Callimachi quidem

Embryo's and idiots, eremites and friers 474
 White, black, and gray, with all their trumpery.
 Here pilgrims roam, that stray'd so far to seek
 In Golgotha him dead, who lives in Heaven ;
 And they who to be sure of Paradise

Dying

dem epigramma in Ambraciotam
 Cleombrotum est : quem ait, cum
 ei nihil accidisset adversi, e muro
 se in mare abjecisse lecto Platonis
 libro : and Ovid Ibis. ver. 493.

Vel de præcipiti venias in Tartara
 saxo,

Ut qui Socraticum de nece le-
 git opus.

A72. — *and many more too long.*

order and confusion. We have the
 same artful negligence in Paradise
 Regain'd, II. 182.

Have we not seen, or by relation
 heard,

In courts and regal chambers how
 thou lark'st,

In wood or grove by mossy foun-
 tain side,

In valley or green meadow in

put on the weeds of Dominic,
 Franciscan think to pass disguis'd; 480
 pass the planets sev'n, and pass the fix'd,
 that crystallin sphere whose balance weighs
 trepidation talk'd, and that first mov'd ;

And

acing them there, but making the principal figures.

Here pilgrims &c.] Those who are gone upon pilgrimages to the Holy Land, to visit our Lord's grave: but to such persons that he said, which was to the woman who discovered his resurrection, Luke 24. 5, 6. *Why seek ye the living among the dead? He is not here but is risen.* To which text our author alludes in this passage.

And that crystallin sphere &c.] This passage is here according to the system of astronomy, adopted and improved by Ptolemy. *They pass the seven,* our planetary or solar spheres, and beyond this pass the firmament or sphere of fixed stars, and beyond this the crystallin sphere, the crystallin heaven, clear as crystal, to which the ancients attributed a sort of motion or shaking (the trepidation much talk'd of) to account for certain irregularities in the motion of the stars, and beyond this first mov'd, the primum mobile sphere which was both the first mov'd and the first mover, indicating its motions to all the other spheres; and beyond this is empty Heaven, the

seat of God and the Angels. This passage may receive some farther light and illustration from another of the same nature in Tasso, where he describes the descent of the Arch-Angel Michael from Heaven, and mentions this crystallin and all the other spheres but only inverting the order, as there the motion is downwards, and here it is upwards, Cant. 9. St. 60, 61.

Passa il foco, e la luce &c.

He pass'd the light, and shining fire assign'd
 The glorious seat of his selected crew,
 The mover first, and circle crystalline,
 The firmament whose fixed stars all shine.

61.

Unlike in working then in shape and show,
 At his left hand, Saturn he left and Jove,
 And those untruly errant call'd Icton,
 Since he errs not who them doth guide and move. Fairfax.

And when our poet mentions *St. Peter as Heaven's ticket with his keys,* he

And now Saint Peter at Heav'n's wicket seems
 To wait them with his keys, and now at foot 485
 Of Heav'n's ascent they lift their feet, when lo
 A violent cross wind from either coast
 Blows them transverse ten thousand leagues awry
 Into the devious air; then might ye see
 Cowls, hoods, and habits with their wearers tost 490
 And flutter'd into rags, then reliques, beads,
 Indulgences, dispenses, pardons, bulls,
 The sport of winds: all these upwhirl'd aloft
 Fly o'er the backside of the world far off
 Into a Limbo large and broad, since call'd 495

The

he certainly intends (as Mr. Thyer observes) to ridicule the fond conceit of the Romanists, that St. Peter and his successors are in a particular manner intrusted with the keys of Heaven. And he makes use of the low phrase of *Heaven's wicket*, the better to expose the notions of those whom he places here in the Paradise of Fools.

489. — *then might ye see*] This is one of the passages which furnishes Dr. Bentley here with objections against fifty-five verses of Milton. To the words *might ye see* he says, how could any one of his readers see them, unless he is himself suppos'd a fool? But was not Satan there? and he is no fool in this poem: it is one thing to be

there as an inhabitant, and another as a spectator. Milton means if any body was present there it is to be able to see what pass'd, he would see *cowls, hoods, &c.* It is very common among poets to talk thus to their readers; *Then might ye see* is no more than *Then might be seen*. See Virgil, *Æn.* VIII. 675.

Pern.

This manner of speaking, which puts the second person indefinitely, is very frequent among the poets, as Virgil *Æn.* IV. 401.

Migrantes cernas —

upon which Servius says, *Honesti figura si rem tertie personæ in secundam transferas. Mugire videbis* *Æn.* IV. 490. that is, *videbit*

228

The Paradise of Fools, to few unknown
 Long after, now unpeopled, and untrod.
 All this dark globe the Fiend found as he pass'd,
 And long he wander'd, till at last a gleam
 Of dawning light turn'd thither-ward in haste 500
 His travel'd steps: far distant he descries
 Ascending by degrees magnificent
 Up to the wall of Heav'n a structure high;
 At top whereof, but far more rich appear'd
 The work as of a kingly palace gate, 505
 With frontispiece of diamond and gold
 Embellish'd; thick with sparkling orient gems

The

aut poterit videre aliquis. Æn. VIII. 691.

— pelago credas innare revulfas
 Cycladas; that is Credat quis.

See Cowley's Davideis II. Note 17.

493. *The sport of winds:*] Ludibria ventis. Virg. Æn. VI. 75.

495. *Into a Limbo large and broad,*] The *Limbus patrum* as it is call'd, is a place that the Schoolmen suppos'd to be in the neighbourhood of Hell, where the souls of the patriarchs were detain'd, and those good men who died before our Saviour's resurrection. Our author gives the same name to his Paradise of Fools, and more rationally places it beyond *the backside of the world*.

501: *His travel'd steps:*] Tir'd steps, from *travagliato* (Italian.)
Richardson.

506. *With frontispiece of diamond and gold*] Imitated from Ovid, Met. II. 1.

Regia solis erat sublimibus alta columnis,
 Clara micante auro, flammisque imitante pyropo.

The sun's bright palace, on high columns rais'd,
 With burnish'd gold and flaming jewels blaz'd. Addison.

507.—*with sparkling orient gems*] Dr. Bentley would read *ardent gems*, because *orient* is proper to say upon earth only: but *sparkling* and

The portal shone, inimitable on earth
By model, or by shading pencil drawn.
The stairs were such as whereon Jacob saw 510
Angels ascending and descending, bands
Of guardians bright, when he from Esau fled
To Padan-Aram, in the field of Luz
Dreaming by night under the open sky, 514
And waking cry'd, This is the gate of Heaven.
Each stair mysteriously was meant, nor stood
There always, but drawn up to Heav'n sometimes
Viewless; and underneath a bright sea flow'd

Of jasper, or of liquid pearl, whereon
 Who after came from earth, sailing arriv'd 520
 Wafted by Angels, or flew o'er the lake
 Rapt in a chariot drawn by fiery steeds.
 The stairs were then let down, whether to dare
 The Fiend by easy' ascent, or aggravate
 His sad exclusion from the doors of bliss: 525
 Direct against which open'd from beneath,
 Just o'er the blissful feat of Paradise,
 A passage down to th' Earth, a passage wide,
 Wider by far than that of after-times

Over

Aram was in the field of Luz; but he was flying to *Padan-Aram* or the country of *Aram*, that is *Syria*; and by the way rested and dreamed this dream in the field of *Luz*, for so the adjoining city was called at the first; *Jacob* upon this occasion gave it the name of *Bethel*, by which it was better known afterwards. The passage was wrong pointed in all the editions, for there should be no comma after *Luz*: the comma should be after *Padan-Aram*, in the field of *Luz* being to be join'd on to *dreaming* in the next verse.

518. — and underneath a bright sea flow'd] The author himself explains this, in the argument of this book, to be meant of the water above the firmament. He mentions it again VII. 619. *Heaven*.

521. *Wafted by Angels, &c.*] As *Lazarus* was carried by *Angels*, *Luke XVI. 22*; and *Elijah* was rapt up in a chariot of fire and horses of fire, *2 Kings II. 11*.

525. — doors] *Milton* writes this word *door* and *doors* except only in one instance in I. 504. of the second edition, which he alter'd from the first edition: but the other approaches nearer in sound to the original word, if it be deriv'd from the Saxon *duru*, the German *dure*, *dara*, *tura*; and all as *Junius* says from the Greek *δύρα*, *janta*. And yet I think we commonly pronounce it *door* tho' we constantly write it *door*. But in all such cases we want an advantage, that the French have enjoy'd, of an Academy to fix and settle our language. Some proposals were made for erecting

Over mount Sion, and, though that were large, 530
Over the Promis'd Land to God so dear,
By which, to visit oft those happy tribes,
On high behests his Angels to and fro
Pass'd frequent, and his eye with choice regard
From Paneas the fount of Jordan's flood 535
To Beërsaba, where the Holy Land
Borders on Egypt and th' Arabian shore;
So wide the opening seem'd, where bounds were set
To darkness, such as bound the ocean wave.
Satan from hence, now on the lower stair 540
That scal'd by steps of gold to Heaven gate,

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I this world at once. As when a scout
 Igh dark and desert ways with peril gone
 ight, at last by break of chearful dawn 545
 ns the brow of some high-climbing hill,
 h to his eye discovers unaware
 oodly prospect of some foreign land
 een, or some renown'd metropolis
 glift'ring spires and pinnacles adorn'd, 550
 h now the rising sun gilds with his beams:
 wonder seis'd, though after Heaven seen,
 p'irit malign, but much more envy seis'd,
 ht of all this world beheld so fair. 554
 l he surveys (and well might, where he stood
 So

*I ocean, Hitberto shalt thou
no farther.*

Satan from hence, &c.] Satan having long wander'd surface, or outmost wall universe, discovers at last a p in it, which led into the and is described as the through which the Angels d fro into the lower world ir errands to mankind. g upon the brink of this und taking a survey of the ce of nature that appeared w and fresh in all its beauh the simile illustrating mstance, fills the mind of r with as surprising and I.

glorious an idea as any that arises in the whole poem. He looks down into that vast hollow of the universe, with the eye, or (as Milton calls it) with the ken of an Angel. He surveys all the wonders in this immense amphitheatre that lie between both the poles of Heaven, and takes in at once view the whole round of the creation.

Addison.

555. *Round he surveys &c.]* Satan is here represented as taking a view of the whole creation from east to west, and then from north to south; but poetry delights to say the most common things in an uncommon manner. *Round he surveys, as well he might*

So high above the circling canopy
 Of night's extended shade) from eastern point
 Of Libra to the fleecy star that bears
 Andromeda far off Atlantic seas
 Beyond th' horizon; then from pole to pole 560
 He views in breadth, and without longer pause
 Down right into the world's first region throws

His

might in his present situation, *so high above the circling canopy of night's extended shade*. Dr. Bentley objects to the expression of *circling canopy*, when the shade of night must needs be a *cone*: but as Dr. Pearce replies, to Satan who look'd down

much greater journey one way than the other, one was called length or longitude, the other breadth or latitude. It is fine, as it is natural, to represent Satan as taking a view of the world before he threw himself into it.

His flight precipitant, and winds with ease
 Through the pure marble air his oblique way
 Amongst innumerable stars, that shone 565
 Stars distant, but nigh hand seem'd other worlds,
 Or other worlds they seem'd, or happy iles,
 Like those Hesperian gardens fam'd of old,
 Fortunate fields, and groves, and flow'ry vales,

Thrice

for its clearness and whiteness, without any regard to its hardness: and the word *marmor*, *marble*, is derived from a Greek word *μαρμαρ* that signifies to shine and glister. And as Milton uses the expression of the *marble air*, so Virgil does likewise of the *marble sea*, Georg. I. 254.

Et quando insidam remis impellere
marmor
 Convenient:

And Æn. VI. 729.

Et quæ *marmorea* fert monstra sub
 æquore pontus:

And elsewhere he calls Orpheus's neck *marble*, Georg. IV. 523.

Tam quoque *marmorea* caput a
 cervice revalsum.

And Ovid in like manner speaks of Narcissus his *marble bands*, Met. III. 481.

Nudæque *marmoris* percussit pec-
 tora palmis.

And a famous poet of our own

(Waller) has said in his verses upon his mistresses passing through a crowd of people;

The yielding *marble* of a snowy
 breast.

And what is nearer to our purpose, Othello in Shakespear is represented as swearing Act III.

— Now by yond *marble* Heaven.

It is common with the Ancients, and those who write in the spirit and manner of the Ancients, in their metaphors and similes, if they agree in the main circumstance, to have no regard to lesser particulars.

565. — *that shone Stars distant,*] They appeared by their shining to be stars. 'Tis a Greek expression, as Plato in an epigram on his friend Stella preserved by Diogenes Laertius. *You shone whilst living a morning star, but dead you now shine Hesperus among the shades.* Richardson.

568. *Like those Hesperian gardens*] So call'd of Hesperus, Vesper, because placed in the west under the evening

Thrice happy iles, but who dwelt happy there 570
He stay'd not to inquire: above them all
The golden sun in splendor likest Heaven
Allur'd his eye: thither his course he bends
Through the calm firmament, (but up or down,
By center, or eccentric, hard to tell, 575
Or longitude,) where the great luminary
Aloof the vulgar constellations thick,
That from his lordly eye keep distance due,
Dispenses light from far; they as they move
Their starry dance in numbers that compute 580
Days

Days months and years, tow'ards his all-cheering lamp
 Turn swift their various motions, or are turn'd
 By his magnetic beam, that gently warms
 The universe, and to each inward part
 With gentle penetration, though unseen, 585
 Shoots invisible virtue ev'n to the deep;
 So wondrously was set his station bright.
 There lands the Fiend, a spot like which perhaps
 Astronomer in the sun's lucent orb
 Through his glaz'd optic tube yet never saw. 590
 The place he found beyond expression bright,
 Compar'd

X. 675, the north being uppermost in our globes,

— hic vertex nobis semper sublimis: Virg. Georg. I. 242.

or whether it was *by center, or eccentric*, towards the center, or from the center, it not being determin'd whether the sun is the center of the world or not; or whether it was *by longitude*, that is in length, east or west, as appears from IV. 539. and VII. 373.

580. — [*in numbers*] That is in measures. Richardson.

586. *Shoots invisible virtue ev'n to the deep*;] Dr. Bentley says *invisible* makes mere tautology with *though unseen*; but I think not; the words *though unseen* relate to *penetration*, and *invisible* is the epithet to *virtue*, which is a distinct

thing from the *penetration* before mention'd, and which might have been visible, though the other was not so. But the Doctor says that *invisible* spoils the measure of the verse. Milton seems to have thought this no blemish to his poem, for he frequently in the beginning of a verse chooses this artificial negligence of measure; So in II. 302, 880. III. 358. XI. 79, 377. There is no need therefore of reading with Dr. Bentley *Shoots vital virtue*, &c.

Pearce: The number of syllables in this verse seems not ill contriv'd to express the depth to which the sun's beams penetrated.

590. *Through his glaz'd optic tube*] The spots in the sun are visible with a telescope: but astronomer perhaps never yet saw *through his glaz'd*

Compar'd with ought on earth, metal or stone;
 Not all parts like, but all alike inform'd
 With radiant light, as glowing ir'on with fire;
 If metal, part seem'd gold, part silver clear; 595
 If stone, carbuncle most or chrysolite,
 Ruby or topaz, to the twelve that shone
 In Aaron's breast-plate, and a stone besides
 Imagin'd rather oft than elsewhere seen,

That

glaz'd optic tube, that is his telescope, such a spot as Satan now he was in the sun's orb. The poet mentions this glass the oftner in honor of Galileo, whom he means here by the *astronomer*.
 592. — *metal or stone*;] In the thing to Satan who was come from the hotter region of Hell; and therefore Milton judiciously omits it, and enlarges upon the riches of the place, the gold and silver and precious stones which abounded therein, and by these

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stone, or like to that which here below 600
 sophers in vain so long have sought,
 n, though by their pow'rful art they bind
 il Hermes, and call up unbound
 ous shapes old Proteus from the sea,
 'd through a limbec to his native form. 605
 : wonder then if fields and regions here
 he forth Elixir pure, and rivers run

Potable

at four of the twelve stones
 m's breastplate are here
 id. For what we translate
 dius, Exod. XXVIII. 17.
 er'd in the margin of our
 the ruby: and what we
 : beryl, Exod. XXVIII. 20.
 venty, the Vulgate, and
 the versions, and Josephus,
 ny others take for a chryso-
 his alteration therefore of
 urce's friend cannot be ad-
 and Mr. Fenton's reading
 worfe, or the twelve, which
 be said after some of the
 have been already men-

The passage may be un-
 d thus without any altera-
 by or topaz to the twelve,
 and all the rest reckoning to
 five, that shone in Aaron's
 plate. The poet had parti-
 tion'd some of the stones
 on's breast-plate, and now
 ides all the rest to the number

Such a concise manner
 icking is not unusual with
 hor.

602. — *though by their pow'rful
 art they bind &c.*] Tho' by
 their pow'rful art they bind and fix
 quicksilver, and change their mat-
 ter, unbound, unfix'd, into as many
 various shapes as Proteus, till it be
 reduced at last to its first original
 form. *Hermes*, another word for
 Mercury or quicksilver, which is
 very fluid, and volatil, and hard
 to be fixed. *Proteus*; a Sea-God,
 who could transform himself into
 various shapes, till being closely
 press'd he return'd to his own
 proper form. By this the Ancients
 understood the first principle of
 things and the subject matter of
 nature; and our poet therefore
 very fitly employs this metaphor
 or similitude to express the matter,
 which the chemists make experi-
 ments upon thro' all its mutations,
 and which they drain thro' their
 limbecs or stills, till it resume its
 native and original form.

606. *What wonder then &c.*]
 And if chemists can do so much,
 what wonder then if in the sun it-
 self

Potable gold, when with one virtuous touch
Th' arch-chemic fun, so far from us remote,
Produces, with terrestrial humor mix'd, 610
Here in the dark so many precious things
Of color glorious and effect so rare?
Here matter new to gaze the Devil met
Undazled; far and wide his eye commands;
For sight no obstacle found here, nor shade, 615
But all sun-shine, as when his beams at noon
Culminate from th' equator, as they now
Shot upward still direct, whence no way round
Shadow

Self is the true philosopher's stone, and two others which follow in

Shadow from body' opaque can fall; and th' air,
 No where so clear, sharpen'd his visual ray 620
 To objects distant far, whereby he soon
 Saw within ken a glorious Angel stand,
 The same whom John saw also in the sun:
 His back was turn'd, but not his brightness hid;
 Of beaming sunny rays a golden tiar 625
 Circled his head, nor less his locks behind
 Illustrious on his shoulders sledge with wings
 Lay waving round; on some great charge employ'd
 He seem'd, or fix'd in cogitation deep.

Glad

in the sense of *like as*; There was no shadow but all sun-shine, like as when his beams at noon culminate from th' equator, that is are vertical and shoot directly from the equator, which is the reason why those who live under the equator, under the line, are called *Afcii*, and at noon cast no shadows. The other as is used by way of reason, in the sense of *for as much as*; There was no shadow but all sun-shine, for as much as his beams shot now directly upward.

623. *The same whom John saw also in the sun:*] And I saw an Angel standing in the sun. Rev. XIX. 17.

625. — a golden tiar] A golden coronet of shining rays circled his head, yet nevertheless did not

hinder his lovely locks, that hung behind over his shoulders adorn'd with wings, from waving themselves into curls and rings. *Tiar* of *Tiara*, the Persian word for a round cap, high and ending in a point, the usual covering and ornament the eastern princes wore on their heads. *Hume*.

627. — *sledge with wings*] We now commonly say *sledg'd*, but our author uses *sledge* again in VII. 420. but *feather'd soon and sledge* &c. He prefers it doubtless as of a softer sound; and there are several such words that want mollifying in our language.

628. — *employ'd*] Milton constantly spells this word *imploy'd*, but the French word from whence it is deriv'd is *employer*.

Glad was the Spi'rit impure, as now in hope 630
To find who might direct his wand'ring flight
To Paradise the happy seat of Man,
His journey's end and our beginning woe.
But first he casts to change his proper shape,
Which else might work him danger or delay: 635
And now a stripling Cherub he appears,
Not of the prime, yet such as in his face
Youth smil'd celestial, and to every limb
Suitable grace diffus'd, so well he feign'd:

Under

634. *But first he casts &c.*] He here by the pen of Milton. In

Under a coronet his flowing hair 640
 In curls on either cheek play'd; wings he wore
 Of many a color'd plume sprinkled with gold,
 His habit fit for speed succinct, and held
 Before his decent steps a silver wand.
 He drew not nigh unheard, the Angel bright, 645
 Ere he drew nigh, his radiant visage turn'd,
 Admonish'd by his ear, and strait was known
 Th' Arch-Angel Uriël, one of the seven
 Who in God's presence, nearest to his throne,

Stand

In Tasso likewise, when the Angel Gabriel is sent to rouse the Christian army, he appears as a stripling, Cant. 1. St. 13.

Tra giovane, e fanciullo età con-
 fine
 Prese, et ornò di raggi il biondo
 crine.

A stripling seem'd he thrice five
 winters old,
 And radiant beams adorn'd his
 locks of gold. Fairfax.

But there doth not seem to be any particular reason for it in that place, as there is in the passage before us.

643. *His habit fit for speed succinct,*] If the author meant that Satan had clothes on as well as wings, it is contrary to his usual manner of

representing the Angels; but I rather understand it that the *wings he wore* were *his habit*, and they were certainly a habit fit for speed succinct, but *succinct* I understand with Dr. Pearce, not in its first and literal sense girded or tuck'd up; but in the metaphorical sense, ready and prepar'd; as Fabius in Inst. Orat. II. 2. says Proni succinctique &c.

644. *His decent steps*] The word *decent* in its common acceptation in our language will, I think, scarcely come up to what our poet is here describing, and therefore we ought in justice to him to recur to its Latin original. Hor. Od. III. XXVII. 53.

Antequam turpis macies decentes
 Occupet malas. Thyer.

Stand ready at command, and are his eyes
 That run through all the Heav'ns, or down to th'Earth
 Bear his swift errands over moist and dry,
 O'er sea and land: him Satan thus accosts.

Uriel, for thou of those sev'n Spi'rits that stand
 In sight of God's high throne, gloriously bright, 6
 The first art wont his great authentic will
 Interpreter through highest Heav'n to bring,
 Where all his sons thy embassy attend;
 And here art likeliest by supreme decree
 Like honor to obtain, and as his eye, 60
 To visit oft this new creation round;
 Unspeakable desire to see, and know
 All these his wondrous works, but chiefly Man,
 His chief delight and favor, him for whom
 All these his works so wondrous he ordain'd, 66

Hat

650. — *and are his eyes &c.*] which signify *God is my light*. It is mention'd as a good Angel in the second book of Esdras, chapters 4 and 5; and the Jews and some Christians conceive him to be an Angel of light according to his name, and therefore he has perfectly his station in the sun.

654. *Uriel*,] His name is derived from two Hebrew words

663. — *but chiefly Man, His chief delight and favor, for whom &c.*] Dr. Bentham

rea

thought me from the quires of Cherubim
 thus wand'ring. Brightest Seraph, tell
 which of all these shining orbs hath Man
 d feat, or fixed seat hath none,
 these shining orbs his choice to dwell, 670
 may find him, and with secret gaze
 admiration him behold,
 from the great Creator hath bestow'd
 , and on whom hath all these graces pour'd;
 both in him and all things; as is meet, 675
 universal Maker we may praise;
 swiftly hath driv'n out his rebel foes
 next Hell, and to repair that loss
 this new happy race of Men
 to him better: wise are all his ways. 680
 make the false dissembler unperceiv'd;

For

favorite whom, and says *quem hic laudat*. And Virgil, *Æn.*
is chief favor is not Eng- V. 541.
 as Dr. Pearce replies, Nec bonus Eurytio prælato in-
 virely may be meant the dit honori:
 his favor; as by *delight bonori* is the honorable person, *præ-*
 meant not his delight *lato* which was preferr'd before
 the object of his delight. him.
 [r. Upton observes, it is 678. — *that loss*] This is Mil-
 the abstract for the con- ton's own reading in both his edi-
 Terence uses *scelus* for tions. Dr. Bentley and Mr. Fen-
 Andria, Act. V. *Scelus* ton read not so well *their loss*.

For neither Man nor Angel can discern
Hypocrisy, the only' evil that walks
Invisible, except to God alone, 684
By his permissive will, through Heav'n and Earth:
And oft though wisdom wake, suspicion sleeps
At wisdom's gate, and to simplicity
Requies her charge, while goodness thinks no ill
Where no ill seems: Which now for once beguil'd
Uriel, though regent of the sun, and held 690
The sharpest sighted Spi'rit of all in Heaven;
Who to the fraudulent impostor foul
In his uprightness answer thus return'd.

The more it seems excess, that led thee hither
 From thy empyreal mansion thus alone,
 To witness with thine eyes what some perhaps 700
 Contented with report hear only' in Heaven:
 For wonderful indeed are all his works,
 Pleasant to know, and worthiest to be all
 Had in remembrance always with delight;
 But what created mind can comprehend 705
 Their number, or the wisdom infinite
 That brought them forth, but hid their causes deep?
 I saw when at his word the formless mass,
 This world's material mold, came to a heap:
 Confusion heard his voice, and wild uproar 710
 Stood rul'd, stood vast infinitude confin'd;
 Till at his second bidding darkness fled,
 Light shone, and order from disorder sprung:

Swift

poetically express'd, in the whole poem. What great art has the poet shown in taking off the dryness of a mere moral sentence by throwing it into the form of a short and beautiful allegory! *Tbyer.*

694. *Fair Angel, &c.*] In the answer which this Angel returns to the disguis'd evil Spirit, there is such a becoming majesty as is altogether suitable to a superior being. The part of it, in which he represents himself as present at the cre-

ation, is very noble in itself, and not only proper where it is introduced, but requisite to prepare the reader for what follows in the seventh book. In the following part of the speech he points out the earth with such circumstances, that the reader can scarce forbear fancying himself employ'd on the same distant view of it. *Addison.*

713. — and order from disorder sprung:] So Plato in *Timæo* Εἰς τὰς αὐτὸς ὕψιστος ἐν τῆς ἀταξίας,

Swift to their several quarters hasted then
The cumbrous elements, earth, flood, air, fire; 715
And this ethereal quintessence of Heaven
Flew upward, spirited with various forms,
That roll'd orbicular, and turn'd to stars
Numberless, as thou seest, and how they move;
Each had his place appointed, each his course; 720
The rest in circuit walls this universe.
Look downward on that globe, whose hither side
With light from hence, though but reflected, shines;
That place is Earth the seat of Man, that light
His day, which else as th' other hemisphere 725

(So call that opposit fair star) her aid
 Timely' interposes, and her monthly round
 Still ending, still renewing, through mid Heaven,
 With borrow'd light her countenance triform 730
 Hence fills and empties to inlighten th' Earth,
 And in her pale dominion checks the night.
 That spot to which I point is Paradise,
 Adam's abode, those lofty shades his bower.
 Thy way thou canst not miss, me mine requires. 735
 Thus said, he turn'd; and Satan bowing low,
 As to superior Spi'rits is wont in Heaven,
 Where honor due and reverence none neglects,
 Took leave, and tow'ard the coast of earth beneath,
 Down from th' ecliptic, sped with hop'd success, 740
 Throws

from Aristotle and others of the ancient philosophers, who supposed that besides the four elements there was likewise an ethereal quintessence or fifth essence, out of which the stars and Heavens were formed, and its motion was orbicular: *ειναι δε παρ τα τεσσαρα στοιχεια, και αλλο πριμτον, εστι ε τα αιθερια συρισται' αλλοιαν δ' αυτη την κινησιν εις, κυκλοεινην. γαρ:* which are the very words of Diogenes Laertius in his life of Aristotle; and it would be easy to make a parade of learning and multiply quotations, but this is au-

thority sufficient to justify our author. These stars are *numberless*, as thou seest, (says the Angel) and seest how they move; and the rest of this fifth essence that is not formed into stars surrounds and like a wall incloses the universe. Lucret. V. 470.

Et late diffusus in omnes undique partes
Omnia sic avido complexu cætera sepit.

730. — *her countenance triform.*] Increasing with horns towards the east, decreasing with horns towards the west, and at the full.

Throws his steep flight in many an aery wheel,
Nor stay'd, till on Niphates top he lights.

741. — *in many an aery wheel,*] This sportive motion is attributed to Satan for joy, that he was now so near his journey's end: and it is very properly taken notice of here, as it is said to have been observed by the Angel Uriel afterwards in IV. 567.

— I describ'd his way,
Bent on all speed, and mark'd his aery gate.

So beautifully do not only the greater, but even the minuter parts of this poem hang together. But Mr. Thyer says — “ I differ from “ you in your sense of these words. “ I do not think that Milton in- “ tended to describe any sportive “ motion of Satan's, but only the


Accelerando il volator le penne
Con larghe mote in terra a por si
venne.

Orl. Fur. Cant. 4. St. 24.

742. — *on Niphates top he lights.*] A mountain in the borders of Armenia, not far from the spring of Tigris, as Xenophon affirms upon his own knowledge. The poet lands Satan on this mountain, because it borders on Mesopotamia, in which the most judicious describers of Paradise place it.

Hunt.

I must not conclude my reflections upon this third book of Paradise Lost, without taking notice of that celebrated complaint of Milton with which it opens, and which



THE
FOURTH BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

B b 2

THE ARGUMENT.

Satan now in prospect of Eden, and nigh the place where he must now attempt the bold enterprize which he undertook alone against God and Man, falls into many doubts with himself, and many passions, fear, envy, and despair; but at length confirms himself in evil, journeys on to Paradise whose outward prospect and situation is described, overleaps the bounds, sits in the shape of a cormorant on the tree of life, as highest in the garden, to look about him. The garden describ'd; Satan's first sight of Adam and Eve; his wonder at their excellent form and happy state, but with resolution to work their fall; overhears their discourse, thence gathers that the tree of knowledge was forbidden them to eat of, under penalty of death; and thereon intends to found his temptation by seducing them to transgress: then leaves them a while, to know further of their state by some other means. Mean while Uriel descending on a sun-

And like a devilish engin back recoils
 Upon himself; horror and doubt distract
 His troubled thoughts, and from the bottom stir
 The Hell within him; for within him Hell 20
 He brings, and round about him, nor from Hell
 One step no more than from himself can fly
 By change of place: now conscience wakes despair
 That slumber'd, wakes the bitter memory
 Of what he was, what is, and what must be 25
 Worse; of worse deeds worse sufferings must ensue.
 Sometimes tow'ards Eden, which now in his view
 Lay pleasant, his griev'd look he fixes sad;
 Sometimes tow'ards Heav'n and the full-blazing sun,
 Which now sat high in his meridian tower: 30
 Then

prove the contrary. Satan was bold far off and fearless, and as he drew nearer, was pleas'd with his success; but now he is come to earth to begin his dire attempt, he does not rejoice in it, his heart misgives him, horror and doubt distract him. This is all very natural.

24. — the memory
 Of what he was, what is, and what must be] Dr. Bentley reads *theory* instead of *memory*: because he does not understand what is the *memory* of a thing present or future. But if the Doctor will allow that it is sense to say *μνησθε αὐθροῦ* or, remember that you

must die, we may keep the word *memory* here, and prefer it to his *theory*. Memory is *recordatio*, or the thinking or reflecting upon any thing, as well present and future as past.

Pearce. Thus Virgil says of his bees, that remembering the winter coming on they lay by provisions in the summer, Georg. IV. 156.

*Venturaque hyemis memores æstate labore
 experiuntur, et in medium quaesita reponunt.*

30. — meridian tower:] At noon the sun is lifted up as in a tower.
 B b 4

Then much revolving, thus in sighs began.

O thou that with surpassing glory crown'd,
 Look'st from thy sole dominion like the God
 Of this new world; at whose sight all the stars
 Hide their diminish'd heads; to thee I call, 35
 But with no friendly voice, and add thy name
 O Sun, to tell thee how I hate thy beams,
 That bring to my remembrance from what state
 I fell, how glorious once above thy sphere;
 Till pride and worse ambition threw me down 40
 Warring in Heav'n against Heav'n's matchless king:

Ah

tower. The metaphor is used by Virgil in his *Culex*, ver. 41.

*Igneus æthereas jam sol penetrâ-
 rat in arces.*

Spenser in his admirable translation of that poem has follow'd him punctually.

The fiery sun was mounted now
 on hight

Up to the heav'nly tow'rs.

Richardson.

32. *O thou &c.*] Satan being now within prospect of Eden, and looking round upon the glories of the creation, is filled with sentiments different from those which he discover'd while he was in Hell. The place inspires him with thoughts more adapted to it: He reflects upon the happy condition

from whence he fell, and breaks forth into a speech that is softened with several transient touches of remorse and self-accusation: but length he confirms himself in impenitence, and in his design of drawing Man into his own state of guilt and misery. This conflict of passions is raised with a great deal of art, as the opening of his speech to the sun is very bold and noble. This speech is, I think, the fact that is ascribed to Satan in the whole poem.

Addition. When Milton design'd to have made only a tragedy of the *Paradise Lost*, it was his intention to have begun it with the first ten lines of the following speech, which he show'd to his nephew Edward Philips and others, as Philips informs us in his account of the

Ah wherefore! he deserv'd no such return
 From me, whom he created what I was
 In that bright eminence, and with his good
 Upbraided none; nor was his service hard. 45
 What could be less than to afford him praise,
 The easiest recompense, and pay him thanks,
 How due! yet all his good prov'd ill in me,
 And wrought but malice; lifted up so high
 I sdeind subjection, and thought one step higher 50
 Would set me hig'hest, and in a moment quit
 The debt immense of endless gratitude,

So

the life of his uncle. And what a noble opening of a play would this have been! The lines were certainly too good to be lost, and the author has done well to employ them here, they could not have been better employ'd any where. Satan is made to address the sun, as it was the most conspicuous part of the creation; and the thought is very natural of addressing it like the God of this world, when so many of the Heathen nations have worshipped and adored it as such.

40. *Till pride and worse ambition*] Pride is a kind of excessive and vicious self-esteem, that raises men in their own opinions above what is just and right: but ambition is that which adds fuel to this flame, and claps spurs to these furious and

inordinate desires that break forth into the most execrable acts to accomplish their haughty designs; which makes our author stigmatize ambition as a worse sin than pride.

Hume.

Dr. Bentley reads *and curs'd ambition*, because he thinks it hard to say whether *pride* or *ambition* is worse: but Milton seems to mean by *pride* the vice consider'd in itself, and only as it is the temper of the proud man; and by *ambition* the vice that carry'd him to aim at being equal with God: and was not this vice the worst of the two? I observe that Satan always lays the blame on his *ambition*, as in ver. 61 and 92. Pearce.

50. *I sdeind*] For disdain'd; an imitation of the Italian *sdegnare*.

Hume.

The

So burdensome still paying, still to owe,
 Forgetful what from him I still receiv'd,
 And understood not that a grateful mind 35
 By owing owes not, but still pays, at once
 Indebted and discharg'd; what burden then?
 O had his pow'rful destiny ordain'd
 Me some inferior Angel, I had stood
 Then happy; no unbounded hope had rais'd 60
 Ambition. Yet why not? some other Power
 As great might have aspir'd, and me though mean
 Drawn to his part; but other Pow'rs as great
 Fell not, but stand unshaken, from within
 Or from without, to all temptations arm'd. 65
 Hadst thou the same free will and pow'r to stand?
 Thou hadst: whom hast thou then or what to' accuse,
 But Heav'n's free love dealt equally to all?
 Be then his love accurs'd, since love or hate,

To

The same word is used by Spenser, *Fairy Queen*, B. 5. Cant. 5. St. 44. and other places.

55. *And understood not*] This verb is to be connected with the other verbs in ver. 50. *I scin'd* and *sbought*.

— *a grateful mind*
By owing owes not, but still pays,
 Satan here has anticipated a sentence, afterwards us'd by Cicero;

Gratiam autem et qui retulerit, habere, et qui habeat, retulisse. Boetius.

79. *O then at last relent:*] There is no fault to be found with this reading, but I am sometimes inclin'd to think that the author might have given it

O then at last repent:
 because of what follows,
 — is there no place
Left for repentance,

and

ook IV. PARADISE LOST. 259

'o me alike, it deals eternal woe. 70

Jay curs'd be thou; since against his thy will
Those freely what it now so justly rues.

Se miserable! which way shall I fly
Infinite wrath, and infinite despair?

Which way I fly is Hell; myself am Hell; 75

And in the lowest deep a lower deep

Still threatening to devour me opens wide,

To which the Hell I suffer seems a Heaven.

But then at last relent: is there no place

Left for repentance, none for pardon left? 80

[None left but by submission; and that word

Disdain forbids me, and my dread of shame

Among the Sp'rits beneath, whom I seduc'd

With other promises and other vaunts

'Than to submit, boasting I could subdue 85

'Th' Omnipotent. Ay me, they little know

How

and again, ver. 93.

But say I could *repent*, &c.

and it is not improbable, that he
and Shakespear in his thoughts,
Hamlet, Act III.

Or if we retain the word *relent*, we
may suppose that Satan could not
at first bring himself to say *repent*,
and therefore makes use of the
softer term *relent*.

Try, what repentance: what can
it not?

Yet what can it, when one cannot
repent?

81. ——— and that word
Disdain forbids me,] Disdain for-
bids me that word *submission*.

Bentley.
112. By

How dearly I abide that boast so vain,
Under what torments inwardly I groan,
While they adore me on the throne of Hell.
With diadem and scepter high advanc'd,
The lower still I fall, only supreme
In misery; such joy ambition finds.
But say I could repent and could obtain
By act of grace my former state; how soon
Would highth recall high thoughts, how soon unlay
What feign'd submission swore? ease would recant
Vows made in pain, as violent and void.
For never can true reconcilment grow,
Where wounds of deadly hate have pierc'd so deep:

IV. PARADISE LOST:

261

knows my punisher; therefore as far
 granting he, as I from begging peace:
 ope excluded thus, behold in stead 105
 ; out-cast, exil'd, his new delight,
 ind created, and for him this world.
 ewel hope, and with hope farewell fear,
 rel remorse: all good to me is lost;
 e thou my good; by thee at least 110
 ed empire with Heav'n's king I hold,
 ee, and more than half perhaps will reign;
 an ere long, and this new world shall know.
 us while he spake, each passion dimm'd his face
 e chang'd with pale, ire, envy, and despair; 115
 h marr'd his borrow'd visage, and betray'd
 counterfeit, if any eye beheld.
 eav'nly minds from such distempers foul

Are

—each passion dimm'd his face
 e chang'd with pale, ire, envy,
 and despair;] Each passion,
 vy, and despair, dimm'd
 ntenance which was thrice
 with pale through the suc-
 agitations of these three
 . For that paleness is the
 hue of envy and despair
 ody knows, and we always
 that sort of anger the most
 and diabolical, which is ac-

companied with a pale livid coun-
 tenance. It is remarkable that in
 the argument to this book we
 read, instead of *ire, fear, envy and
 despair*; and as *fear* may be justifi-
 fy'd by ver. 18. *horror and doubt
 distract*, and other places; so is
anger warranted by ver. 9. and by
 his cursing God and himself, and
 by his threatening of Man in the
 close of his speech.

Are ever clear. Whereof he soon aware,
Each perturbation smoooth'd with outward calm,
Artificer of fraud; and was the first 121
That practic'd falshood under faintly show,
Deep malice to conceal, couch'd with revenge:
Yet not enough had practic'd to deceive
Uriel once warn'd; whose eye pursued him down
The way he went, and on th' Assyrian mount 126
Saw him disfigur'd, more than could befall
Spirit of happy sort: his gestures fierce
He mark'd and mad demeanour, then alone,
As he suppos'd, all unobserv'd, unseen. 130

IV. PARADISE LOST. 263

with a rural mound, the champain head
 a steep wilderness, whose hairy sides 135
 h thicket overgrown, grottesque and wild,
 es deny'd; and over head up grew
 perable highth of loftiest shade,
 ar, and pine, and fir, and branching palm,
 lvan scene, and as the ranks ascend 140
 le above shade, a woody theatre
 stateliest view. Yet higher than their tops
 : verd'rous wall of Paradise up sprung:
 ich to our general sire gave prospect large
 o his nether empire neighb'ring round. 145
 d higher than that wall a circling row
 goodliest trees loaden with fairest fruit,
 ssoms and fruits at once of golden hue,

Appear'd,

her in the same manner as the
 hes in the theatres and places
 ublic shows and spectacles.
 yet higher than the highest of
 : trees grew up the verdu-
 wall of Paradise, a green in-
 ure like a rural mound, like a
 e set with a hedge, but this
 e grew not up so high as to
 er Adam's prospect into the
 bouring country below, which
 lled his *empire*, as the whole
 a was his *dominion*, V. 751.
 above this hedge or green
 grew a circling row of the

finest fruit trees; and the only en-
 trance into Paradise was a gate on
 the eastern side. This account in
 prose may perhaps help the reader
 the better to understand the descrip-
 tion in verse.

140. *A sylvan scene,*] So Virgil,
Æn. I. 164.

*Tum sylvis scena coruscis
 Desuper, horrentique atrum nemus
 imminet umbra. Hume.*

147. — *with fairest fruit,
 Blossoms and fruits at once of golden
 hue,*] Dr. Bentley reads *fruits*
 in

Appear'd, with gay enamel'd colors mix'd:
 On which the sun more glad impress'd his beams
 Than in fair evening cloud, or humid bow, 151
 When God hath show'rd the earth; so lovely seem'd
 That landskip: And of pure now purer air
 Meets his approach, and to the heart inspires
 Vernal delight and joy, able to drive * 155
 All sadness but despair: now gentle gales

Fanning

in the first verse, because *fruits* follows in the next: but I should cauti-
 onously to read *fruit* in both places; because I observe that when Mil-
 ton speaks of what is hanging on the trees, he calls it *fruit* in the

Dr. Bentley reads *Than on fair evening cloud.*

152. — *so lovely seem'd*
That landskip:] And now if we

compare our poet's topography of Paradise with Homer's description

Fanning their odoriferous wings dispense
 Native perfumes, and whisper whence they stole
 Those balmy spoils. As when to them who sail
 Beyond the Cape of Hope, and now are past 160
 Mozambic, off at sea north-east winds blow
 Sabean odors from the spicy shore
 Of Araby the blest; with such delay
 Well pleas'd they slack their course, and many a league
 Chear'd

nida, and Marino's garden of Venus, he will, I think, be persuaded that Milton imitates their manner, but yet that the copy greatly excels the originals. *Thyer.*

158.— *and whisper whence they stole*

Those balmy spoils.] This fine passage is undoubtedly taken from asine a one in Shakespear's Twelfth Night at the beginning

— like the sweet south
 That breathes upon a bank of violets,

Stealing and giving odor.

Mr. Thyer is still of opinion, that Milton rather alluded to the following lines of Ariosto's description of Paradise, where speaking of the *dolce aura* he says

E quella à i fiori, à i pomi, e à la verzura
 Gli odor diversi depredando giva,
 E di tutti facera una mistura,
 Che di soavità à l'alma notriva.

Orl. Fur. C. 34. St. 51.

V o l. I.

The two first of these lines express the air's stealing of the native perfumes, and the two latter that vernal delight which they give to the mind. Besides it may be further observ'd that this expression of the air's stealing and dispersing the sweets of flowers is very common in the best Italian poets. To instance only in one more.

Dolce confusione di mille odori
 Sparge, e 'nvola volando aura
 predace.

Adon. di Marino C. 1. St. 13.

163. — *with such delay*

Well pleas'd they slack their course,] The north-east winds blowing contrary to those who have doubled the *Cape of Good Hope*, and are past the island *Mozambic* on the eastern coast of Africa near the continent, and are sailing forwards, they must necessarily *slack their course*; but yet they are well enough *pleas'd with such delay*, as it gives them the pleasure of smelling such delicious odors, *Sabean odors*, from Saba,

C c

Chear'd with the grateful smell old Ocean smiles :
So entertain'd those odorous sweets the Fiend 166
Who came their bane, though with them better pleas'd
Than Asmodæus with the fishy fume
That drove him, though enamour'd, from the spouse
Of Tobit's son, and with a vengeance sent 170
From Media post to Egypt, there fast bound.

Now to th' ascent of that steep savage hill,
Satan had journey'd on, pensive and slow;
But further way found none, so thick intwin'd,
As one continued brake, the undergrowth 175
Of shrubs and tangling bushes had perplex'd

path of man or beast that pass'd that way:
 gate there only was, and that look'd east
 h'other side: which when th' arch-felon saw,
 entrance he disdain'd, and in contempt, 180
 ne slight bound high over leap'd all bound
 uill or highest wall, and sheer within
 ts on his feet. As when a prowling wolf,
 om hunger drives to seek new haunt for prey,
 ching where shepherds pen their flocks at eve 185
 urdled cotes amid the field secure,
 is o'er the fence with ease into the fold:
 s a thief bent to unhord the cash

Of

ventures, in which the poet
 gaged this artificer of fraud.

Addison.

1. *All path of man or beast
 that pass'd that way:*] Satan
 come to the ascent of the
 Paradise, which was so over-
 a with thicket and under-
 , that neither man nor beast
 pass that way. *That pass'd
 way,* that would have pass'd
 way, a remarkable manner
 eaking, somewhat like that
 642. *So seem'd far off the fly-
 end,* that is (speaking strictly)
 l have seem'd if any one had
 there to have seen him. And
 ike manner of speaking we
 observe in the best classic au-
 as in Virg. *Æn.* VI. 467.

Talibus Æneas ardentem et torva
 tuentem

Lenibat dictis animum, lacrimas-
 que ciebat.

Lenibat animum, did appease her
 mind, that is would have appeas'd
 her mind, for what he said was
 without the desir'd effect. So Eu-
 ripides in Ion. 1326.

ἤκουσας ὧς μὲν ἐκίλευεν ἠδὲ μὴ
 χεραίας;

Have you heard how she kill'd me,
 that is, would have kill'd me?

183.—*As when a prowling wolf,]*
 A wolf is often the subject of a
 simile in Homer and Virgil. but
 here is consider'd in a new light,
 and perhaps never furnish'd out a

Of God the garden was, by him in th' east
 Of Eden planted; Eden stretch'd her line 210
 From Auran eastward to the royal towers
 Of great Seleucia, built by Grecian kings,
 Or where the sons of Eden long before
 Dwelt in Telassar: in this pleasant soil
 His far more pleasant garden God ordain'd; 215
 Out of the fertil ground he caus'd to grow
 All trees of noblest kind for sight, smell, taste;
 And

make of the tree of life? They
 did not use it ill before the fall, and
 after the fall they were not per-
 mitted to use or eat of it at all.

200. *Of God the garden was, by*

says Chap. XXXVII. 12.) which
Telassar or *Talatha* was a province
 and a city of the children of Eden,
 placed by Ptolomy in Babylonia,
 upon the common streams of *Ti-*

And all amid them stood the tree of life,
 High eminent, blooming ambrosial fruit
 Of vegetable gold; and next to life, 220

Our death the tree of knowledge grew fast by,
 Knowledge of good bought dear by knowing ill.
 Southward through Eden went a river large,
 Nor chang'd his course, but through the shaggy hill
 Pass'd underneath ingulf'd; for God had thrown
 That mountain as his garden mold high rais'd 226

Upon

heroic poem, when they run out into an unnecessary length; the description of Paradise would have been faulty, had not the poet been very particular in it, not only as it is the scene of the principal action, but as it is requisite to give us an idea of that happiness from which our first parents fell. The plan of it is wonderfully beautiful, and formed upon the short sketch which we have of it in holy Writ. Milton's exuberance of imagination has poured forth such a redundancy of ornaments on this seat of happiness and innocence, that it would be endless to point out each particular. I must not quit this head without further observing, that there is scarce a speech of Adam and Eve in the whole poem, wherein the sentiments and allusions are not taken from this their delightful habitation. The reader, during their whole course of action, always finds himself in the

walks of Paradise. In short, as the critics have remarked that in those poems, wherein shepherds are actors, the thoughts ought always to take a tincture from the woods, fields, and rivers; so we may observe, that our first parents seldom lose sight of their happy station in any thing they speak or do; and, if the reader will give me leave to use the expression, that their thoughts are always *Paradisiacal*. Addison.

223. *Southward through Eden went a river large,*] This is most probably the river formed by the junction of the Euphrates and Tigris, which flows *southward*, and must needs be a *river large* by the joining of two such mighty rivers. Upon this river it is supposed by the best commentators that the terrestrial Paradise was situated. Milton calls this river Tigris in IX. 71.

Upon the rapid current, which through veins
 Of porous earth with kindly thirst up drawn,
 Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a rill
 Water'd the garden; thence united fell 230
 Down the steep glade, and met the nether flood,
 Which from his darksome passage now appears,
 And now divided into four main streams,
 Runs diverse, wand'ring many a famous realm
 And country, whereof here needs no account; 235
 But rather to tell how, if Art could tell,

How

233. *And now divided into four main streams.*] This is grounded upon the words of Moses, Gen. poet expresses it as if the river had been parted into four other rivers below the garden; but there

rom that saphir fount the crisped brooks,
 g on orient pearl and sands of gold,
 mazy error under pendent shades
 ctar, visiting each plant, and fed 240
 s, worthy' of Paradise, which not nice Art
 s and curious knots, but Nature boon
 : forth profuse on hill and dale and plain,
 where the morning sun first warmly smote
 pen field, and where the unpierc'd shade 245
 wn'd the noontide bow'rs: Thus was this place

A

Mofca asks Corvino, who
 ight a rich pearl as a pre-
 id Volpone; *Is your pearl
 r? Act I.*

*Both where the morning sun
 rst warmly smote
 in field.]* This is a man-
 xpression unusual in our
 , and plainly borrow'd
 Italian poets, with whom
 common. Ariosto *Orl. Fur.*
 St. 20.

il sole ardente il vicin colle.
 . St. 35.

il sol nel colle, e fa ri-
 io. *Tbyer.*

*Imbrow'n'd the noontide
 ow'rs:]* A person must be
 ed with the Italian lan-
 o discern the force and
 priety of this term. It is a
 ich their poets make use

of to describe any thing shaded.
 Thus Boiardo describing a fleet of
 ships going to put to sea. *Orl. Inam.*
Cant. 29.

De le sue vele e tanto spessa l'om-
 bra
 Che sotto a quelle il mar e fatto
 bruno

So also Ariosto I remember upon a
 like occasion,

— sotto le vele il mar s'imbruni.

To these instances may be added
 from Tasso *Gier. Lib. Cant. 14.*
 St. 70.

Quinci ella in cima à una mon-
 tagna ascende
 Dishabitata, e d'ombre oscura, e
 bruna.

In like manner to express the ap-
 proach of the evening they say *su
 l'imbrunir*, or if they would say it
 grows

A happy rural seat of various view;
 Groves whose rich trees wept odorous gums and balm,
 Others whose fruit burnish'd with golden rind
 Hung amiable, Hesperian fables true, 250
 If true, here only, and of delicious taste:
 Betwixt them lawns, or level downs, and flocks
 Grazing the tender herb, were interpos'd,

Or

grows dusky or gloomy — *Il tempo comincia ad imbrunirsi.* Thyer.

248. *Groves whose rich trees &c.*] There were groves bearing aromatics, and there were others bearing fruit for sustenance. The former are called *rich trees*, as *odorous gums and balm* carry usually a

The first and most proper sense of the word *fabula*, as all the dictionaries inform us, is something commonly talked of, whether true or false: and if Milton us'd the word *fable* so here, the sense is clear of the objection. But the Doctor would rather throw out

palmy hillock; or the flow'ry lap
 some irriguous valley spread her store, 255
 bow'rs of all hue, and without thorn the rose;
 another side, umbrageous grots and caves
 cool recess, o'er which the mantling vine
 lays forth her purple grape, and gently creeps
 luxuriant; mean while murm'ring waters fall 260
 Down

icious taste, those there had
 e. Richardson.
 155. — [irriguous valley] Well-
 ter'd, full of springs and rills:
 the epithet of a garden in Ho-
 e, Sat. II. IV. 16.

thorns and thistles, Gen. III. 18.
 and from hence the general opi-
 nion has prevailed that there were
 no thorns before; which is enough
 to justify a poet in saying the rose
 was without thorns or prickles.

[irriguo nihil est elutius horto.
 Hume.

257. Another side, umbrageous grots
 and caves] Another side of
 the garden was umbrageous grots
 and caves &c. Or on another side
 were shady grots and caves, &c.
 the preposition being omitted as is
 not unusual with our author. See
 I. 282 and 723. On one side were
 groves of aromatics, others of fruit,
 and betwixt them lawns or downs.
 On another side were shady grotto's
 and caves of cool recess. Our au-
 thor indeed has not mention'd one
 side before, but without that he often
 makes use of the expression, on
 the other side, as you may see in II.
 108, 706. IV. 985. IX. 888. as
 Virgil frequently says *in parte alia*,
in another part, though he has not
 said expressly *in one part* before, Æn.
 I. 474. VIII. 682. IX. 521.

156. Flow'rs of all hue, and with-
 out thorn the rose:] Dr. Bent-
 ley rejects this verse, because he
 asks it a jejune identity in the poet
 say *The flow'ry lap — spread*
o'rs: but, as Dr. Pearce observes,
 the expression be not very
 stiff, it is not so bad as Dr. Bent-
 ley represents it; for the construc-
 tion and sense is, *The flow'ry lap of*
the valley spread her store, which
 was what? why *flow'rs* of
 every color or hue. Dr. Bentley
 adds too to the latter part of the
 verse, *and without thorn the rose*,
 which he calls it a puerile fancy. But
 should be remember'd, that it
 is part of the curse denounced
 on the earth for Adam's trans-
 gression, that it should bring forth

Down the slope hills, dispers'd, or in a lake,
 That to the fringed bank with myrtle crown'd
 Her crystal mirror holds, unite their streams.
 The birds their quire apply; airs, vernal airs,
 Breathing the smell of field and grove, attune 265
 The trembling leaves, while universal Pan

Knit

261. — *dispers'd, or in a lake,*] The waters fall dispersed, or unite their streams in a lake, that presents her clear looking-glass, holds her crystal mirror to the fringed bank crown'd with myrtle. He makes the lake we may observe a person, and a critic like Dr. Bentley may find fault with it; but it is usual with the poets to personify lakes and rivers as Homer does

Orbis, et hibernis parcebant sitibus Euri,
 Cum primum lucem pecudes haufere &c.

Ov. Met. I. 107.

Ver erat æternum, placidique tepentibus auris
 Mulcebant Zephyri natos sine femine flores.

Knit with the Graces and the Hours in dance
 Led on th' eternal spring. Not that fair field
 Of Enna, where Proserpin gathering flowers,
 Herself a fairer flow'r by gloomy Dis 270
 Was gather'd, which cost Ceres all that pain
 To seek her through the world; nor that sweet grove
 Of

manner (as Homer in his Hymn to Apollo had done before him) that now all nature was in beauty, and every hour produc'd something new, without any change for the worse. *Richardson.*

268. — *Not that fair field &c.]* Not that fair field of *Enna* in Sicily, celebrated so much by Ovid and Claudian for its beauty, from whence *Proserpin* was carried away by the gloomy God of Hell *Dis* or *Pluto*, which occasion'd her mother *Ceres* to seek her all the world over; nor that sweet grove of *Daphne* near Antioch, the capital of Syria, seated on the banks of the river *Orontes*, together with the *Castalian* spring there, of the same name with that in Greece, and extoll'd for its prophetic qualities; nor the island *Nyssa*, incompass'd with the river *Triton* in Africa, where *Cbam* or *Ham* the son of Noah, therefore called *old*, (who first peopled Egypt and Lybia, and among the Gentiles goes by the name of *Ammon* or *Lybian Jove*) hid his mistress *Amalthea* and her beautiful son *Bacchus* (therefore called *Dionysus*) from his

stepdame *Rhea's* eye, the stepdame of *Bacchus* and wife of the *Libyan Jove* according to some authors, particularly *Diodorus Siculus*, Lib. 3. and *Sir Walter Raleigh's Hist. B.* 1. ch. 6. sect. 5. tho' different from others; nor mount *Amara*, where the kings of *Abassinia* or *Abyssinia* (a kingdom in the upper Ethiopia) keep their children guarded, a place of most delightful prospect and situation, inclos'd with alabaster rocks, which it is a day's journey to ascend, supposed by some (tho' so far distant from the true Paradise) to be the seat of Paradise under the *Ethiopian* or equinoctial line near the springs of the river *Nile*: Not any nor all of these could vy with this Paradise of Eden; this exceeded all that historians have written or poets have feign'd of the most beautiful places in the world. By the way we should observe his manner of pronouncing *Proserpin* with the accent upon the second syllable, like the Latin, and as *Spenser* and the old English authors pronounce it, *Fairy Queen*, B. 1. Cant. 2. St. 2.

And

Of Daphne by Orontes, and th' inspir'd
Castalian spring, might with this Paradise
Of Eden strive; nor that Nyseian ile 275
Girt with the river Triton, where old Cham,
Whom Gentiles Ammon call and Lybian Jove,
Hid Amalthea and her florid son
Young Bacchus from his stepdame Rhea's eye;
Nor where Abassin kings their issue guard, 280
Mount Amara, though this by some suppos'd
True Paradise under the Ethiop line
By Nilus head, inclos'd with shining rock,
A whole day's journey high, but wide remote
From this Assyrian garden, where the Flood

Saw undelighted all delight; all kind
 Of living creatures new to sight and strange.
 Two of far nobler shape erect and tall,
 Godlike erect, with native honor clad
 In naked majesty seem'd lords of all, 290
 And worthy seem'd; for in their looks divine
 The image of their glorious Maker shone,
 Truth, wisdom, sanctitude severe and pure,
 (Severe but in true filial freedom plac'd)
 Whence true authority in men; though both 295
 Not equal, as their sex not equal seem'd;
 For contemplation he and valor form'd,
 For softness she and sweet attractive grace,

He

ture severe and pure, that is strict holiness; which are qualities that give to magistrates *true authority*, that proper authority which they may want who yet have legal authority. This is Milton's meaning: and for explaining the word *severe*, he inserts a verse to show that he does not mean such a *sanctitude* or holiness as is rigid and austere, but such as is *plac'd in filial freedom*; alluding to the scriptural expressions, which represent good Christians as *free* and as the *sons* of God: on which foundation our obedience (from whence our sanctitude arises) is a *filial*, and not a slavish one; a reverence ra-

ther than a fear of the Deity. From hence we may see that Dr. Bentley had no sufficient reason to change *severe* in the first verse into *serene*, and to throw out the second verse entirely. Pearce.

297. *For contemplation he and valor form'd,*

For softness she and sweet attractive grace,

] The curious reader may please to observe upon these two charming lines, how the numbers are varied, and how artfully *he* and *she* are placed in each verse, so as the tone may fall upon them, and yet fall upon them differently. The author might have given both exactly the same tone, but every

He for God only, she for God in him:

His fair large front and eye sublime declar'd 300

Absolute rule; and hyacinthin locks

Round from his parted forelock manly hung
Clustring,

ear must judge this alteration to be
much for the worse.

For valor he and contemplation
form'd,

For softness she and sweet attrac-
tive grace.

299. *He for God only, she for God
in him:]* The author gave
it thus, says Dr. Bentley,

He for God only, she for God *and*
him.

The correction does not seem to be

Καθ' ἃ κεκαρτη-
Ουλας ηκε κομας, ὑακινθινῶν α-
θει ομοιας. Odyss. VI. 231.

Back from his brows a length of
hair unfurls,

His hyacinthin locks descend in
wavy curls. Broome.

Eustathius interprets hyacinthin
locks by black locks, and Suidas
by very dark brown; and Milton
in like manner means brown or
black locks, distinguishing Adam's
hair from Eve's in the color as well

Clustering, but not beneath his shoulders broad :

She as a veil down to the slender waste

Her unadorned golden tresses wore

305

Dishevel'd, but in wanton ringlets wav'd

As

beauty : and our Spenser, B. 2. Cant. 12. St. 79. and B. 3. Cant. 5. St. 29.

Bentley.

His beard is a particular that the poet could not have forgot, but I suppose he purposely omitted it, because Raphael and the principal painters always represent him without one; I believe no one remembers ever to have seen a good print or picture of him with one, and Milton frequently fetches his ideas from the works of the greatest masters in painting.

304. *She as a veil down to the slender waste*

Her unadorned golden tresses &c.]

In like manner Marino paints his Venus. Adon. Cant. 8. St. 47.

Onde a guisa d'un vel dorato, e folto

Celando il bianco feu trà l'onde loro

In mille minutissimi ruscelli

Dal capo scaturir gli aurei capelli.

The poet has, I think, showed great judgment and delicacy in avoiding in this place the entering into a circumstantial description of Eve's beauty. It was, no doubt, a very tempting occasion of giving an indulgent loose to his fancy; since the most lavish imagination

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could not possibly carry too high the charms of Woman, as she first came out of the hands of her heavenly Maker. But as a picture of this kind would have been too light and gay for the graver turn of Milton's plan, he has very artfully mentioned the charms of her person in general terms only, and directed the reader's attention more particularly to the beauty of her mind. Most great poets have labor'd in a particular manner the delineation of their Beauties (Ariosto's Alcina, Tasso's Armida, and Spenser's Belphebe) and 'tis very probable that the portrait of Eve would have rival'd them all, if the chaste correctness of our author's Muse had not restrain'd him.

Thyer.

305. — *golden tresses]* This sort of hair was most admir'd and celebrated by the Ancients, I suppose as it usually betokens a fairer skin and finer complexion. It would be almost endless to quote passages to this purpose in praise of Helen and the other famous beauties of antiquity. Venus herself, the Goddess of beauty, is described of this color and complexion; and therefore is stiled *golden Venus*, χρυσον Ἀφροδίτην by Homer, and *Venus aurea* by Virgil. As Milton had

D d

the

As the vine curls her tendrils, which imply'd
 Subjection, but requir'd with gentle sway,
 And by her yielded, by him best receiv'd,
 Yielded with coy submission, modest pride, 310
 And sweet reluctant amorous delay.

Nor those mysterious parts were then conceal'd,
 Then was not guilty shame, dishonest shame
 Of nature's works, honor dishonorable,
 Sin-bred, how have ye troubled all mankind 315
 With

the taste of the Ancients in other things, so likewise in this particular. He must certainly have preferred this to all other colors, or *long hair, it is a shame unto him? And therefore Milton gives Adam locks, that hung clustering, but not beneath his shoulders broad. But if*

Vith shows instead, mere shows of seeming pure,
 and banish'd from man's life his happiest life,
 implicity and spotless innocence!

so pass'd they naked on, nor shunn'd the sight
 of God or Angel, for they thought no ill: 310
 so hand in hand they pass'd, the loveliest pair
 that ever since in love's embraces met;
 Adam the goodliest man of men since born
 his sons, the fairest of her daughters Eve.

Under

pass'd with more elegance than
 that admir'd passage in Horace,
 which no doubt Milton had in his
 thoughts, Od. II. XII. 26.

— *facili sævitia negat*
Quæ poscente magis gaudeat eripi,
Interdum rapere occupat.

314. — *honor dishonorable,*] He
 alludes to 1 Cor. XII. 23. *And these*
members of the body which we think
to be less honorable, upon these we
show more abundant honor. But the
 honor paid to those parts is really
 dishonor, a token of our fall, and
 an indication of our guilt. Inno-
 cent nature made no such distinc-
 tion. *Sin-bred, how have ye trou-*
led &c. Should we not read,

Sin-bred, how have you troubled—
 or what is he speaking to besides
hame?

323. *Adam the goodliest man of*
men &c.] These two lines
 were censur'd by Mr. Addison, and

are totally rejected by Dr. Bentley,
 as implying that Adam was one of
 his sons, and Eve one of her daugh-
 ters: but this manner of expression
 is borrow'd from the Greek lan-
 guage, in which we find sometimes
 the superlative degree used instead
 of the comparative. The mean-
 ing therefore is, that Adam was a
 goodlier man than any of his sons,
 and Eve fairer than her daughters.
 So Achilles is said to have been
αιυρωτατος αλλων *Illad. I. 505.*
 that is more short-liv'd than others.
 So Nireus is said to have been the
 handsomest of the other Grecians,
Illad. II. 673.

— *ος καλλιστος ανηρ υπο Ιαλον*
πλοσι,
των αλλων Δαναων. —

And the same manner of speaking
 has pass'd from the Greeks to the
 Latins. So a freed woman is call'd
 in Horace, *Sat. I. I. 100. fortissima*
Tyndaridarum, not that she was one
 of

Under a tuft of shade that on a green 325
Stood whisp'ring soft, by a fresh fountain side
They sat them down; and after no more toil
Of their sweet gard'ning labor than suffic'd
To recommend cool Zephyr, and made ease
More easy, wholesome thirst and appetite 330
More grateful, to their supper fruits they fell,
Nectarin fruits which the compliant boughs
Yielded them, side-long as they sat recline
On the soft downy bank damask'd with flowers:
The savory pulp they chew, and in the rind 335
Still as they thirsted scoop the brimming stream;

Wanted, nor youthful dalliance as beſeems
 Fair couple, link'd in happy nuptial league,
 Alone as they. About them friſking play'd 340
 All beaſts of th' earth, ſince wild, and of all chafe
 In wood or wilderneſs, foreſt or den;
 Sporting the lion ramp'd, and in his paw
 Dandled the kid; bears, tigers, ounces, pards,
 Gambol'd before them; th'unwieldy elephant 345
 To make them mirth us'd all his might, and wreath'd
 His lithe probofcis; cloſe the ſerpent fly
 Inſinuating, wove with Gordian twine
 His breaded train, and of his fatal guile
 Gave proof unheeded; others on the graſs 350
 Couch'd,

347. *His lithe probofcis;*] His limber trunk, ſo pliant and uſeful to him, that Cicero calls it *elephantinum manum*, the elephants hand.

Hume.

348. *Inſinuating, wove with Gordian twine*

His breaded train, &c.] *Inſinuating*, wrapping, or rolling up, and as it were imboſoming himſelf. Virgil frequently uſes the words *ſinuofus* and *ſinuare* to expreſs the winding motions of this animal. *With Gordian twine*, with many intricate turnings and twiſtings, like the famous Gordian knot, which no bo-

dy could unty, but Alexander cut it with his ſword. *His breaded train*, his plaited twiſted tail. *And of his fatal guile gave proof unheeded*. That intricate form into which he put himſelf was a ſort of ſymbol or type of his fraud, tho' not then regarded. Hume and Richardson.

We may obſerve that the poet is larger in the deſcription of the ſerpent, than of any of the other animals, and very judiciously, as he is afterwards made the inſtrument of ſo much miſchief; and at the ſame time an intimation is given of *his fatal guile*, to prepare the reader for what follows.

Couch'd, and now fill'd with pasture gazing fat,
 Or bedward ruminating; for the sun
 Declin'd was haſting now with prone career
 To th' ocean iſes, and in th' aſcending ſcale
 Of Heav'n the ſtars that uſher evening roſe: 355
 When Satan ſtill in gaze, as firſt he ſtood,
 Scarce thus at length fail'd ſpeech recover'd ſad.

O Hell! what do mine eyes with grief behold!
 Into our room of bliſs thus high advanc'd
 Creatures of other mold, earth-born perhaps, 360
 Not

351. *Couch'd,*] Let the reader and again, ver. 156,
 obſerve how artfully the word
couch'd is placed, ſo as to make the

— Παισι δ' ε γον και κηδισ

Not Spirits, yet to heav'nly Spirits bright
 Little inferior; whom my thoughts pursue
 With wonder, and could love, so lively shines
 In them divine resemblance, and such grace
 The hand that form'd them on their shape hath pour'd.
 Ah gentle pair, ye little think how nigh 366
 Your change approaches, when all these delights
 Will vanish and deliver ye to woe,
 More woe, the more your taste is now of joy;
 Happy, but for so happy ill secur'd 370
 Long

is usually made upon the verb, to mark the action more strongly to the reader.

352. Or *bedward ruminating*:]
 Chewing the cud before they go to rest. *Hume.*

354. *To th' ocean isles,*] The islands in the western ocean; for that the sun set in the sea, and rose out of it again, was an ancient poetic notion, and is become part of the phraseology of poetry. *And in th' ascending scale of Heav'n,* The balance of Heaven or Libra is one of the twelve signs, and when the sun is in that sign, as he is at the autumnal equinox, the days and nights are equal, as if weigh'd in a balance:

Libra dici somnique pares ubi fecerit horas:

Virg. Georg. I. 208.

and from hence our author seems to have borrow'd his metaphor of the scales of Heaven, weighing night and day, the one ascending as the other sinks.

357. *Scarce thus at length fail'd speech recover'd sad.*] Tho' Satan came in quest of Adam and Eve, yet he is struck with such astonishment at the sight of them, that it is a long time before he can recover his speech, and break forth into this soliloquy: and at the same time this dumb admiration of Satan gives the poet the better opportunity of enlarging his description of them. This is very beautiful.

362. *Little inferior;*] For this there is the authority of Scripture. *Thou hast made him a littler lower than the Angels,* Psal. VIII. 5. Heb. II. 7.

Long to continue, and this high seat your Heaven
 Ill fenc'd for Heav'n to keep out such a foe
 As now is enter'd; yet no purpos'd foe
 To you, whom I could pity thus forlorn,
 Though I unpitied: League with you I seek, 375
 And mutual amity so strait, so close,
 That I with you must dwell, or you with me
 Henceforth; my dwelling haply may not please,
 Like this fair Paradise, your sense, yet such
 Accept your Maker's work; he gave it me, 380
 Which I as freely give; Hell shall unfold,
 To entertain you two, her widest gates,
 And send forth all her kings; there will be room,
 Not like these narrow limits, to receive
 Your numerous offspring; if no better place, 385
 Thank him who puts me loath to this revenge
 On you who wrong me not for him who wrong'd.

And

389. — *yet public reason just, &c.]* Public reason compels me, and that public reason is honor and empire enlarg'd with revenge, by conquering this new world. And thus Satan is made to plead *public reason just*, and *necessity to excuse his devilish deeds*; the tyrant's plea, as the poet calls it, probably with a view to his own times, and particularly to the plea for ship-money.

395. *Then from his lofty stand on that high tree &c.]* The tree of life, higher than the rest, where he had been perching all this while from ver. 196. And then for the transformations which follow, what changes in Ovid's *Metamorphosis* are so natural, and yet so surprising as these? He is well liken'd to the fiercest beasts, the lion and the tiger, and Adam and Eve in their native

And should I at your harmless innocence
 Melt, as I do, yet public reason just,
 Honor and empire with revenge enlarg'd, 390
 By conqu'ring this new world, compels me now
 To do what else though damn'd I should abhor.

So spake the Fiend, and with necessity,
 The tyrant's plea, excus'd his devilish deeds.
 Then from his lofty stand on that high tree 395
 Down he alights among the sportful herd
 Of those four-footed kinds, himself now one,
 Now other, as their shape serv'd best his end
 Nearer to view his prey, and unesp'y'd
 To mark what of their state he more might learn 400
 By word or action mark'd: about them round
 A lion now he stalks with fiery glare;
 Then as a tiger, who by chance hath spy'd
 In some purlieu two gentle fawns at play,

Strait

native innocence to two gentle fawns.

400. *To mark what of their state
 he more might learn*

By word or action mark'd:] Tho' the poet uses *mark* and *mark'd* too, yet such repetitions of the same word are common with him; so common that we may suppose he

did not do it for want of attention, and that it was not merely the effect of his blindness. See instances of it in my note on III. 147. and we have another following here, ver. 405.

Strait *couches* close, then rising
 changes oft
 His *couchant* watch. *Pearce.*

A10. Turn'd

Strait couches close, then rising changes oft 405

His couchant watch, as one who chose his ground,

Whence rushing he might surest seize them both

Grip'd in each paw: when Adam first of men

To first of women Eve thus moving speech,

Turn'd him all ear to hear new utterance flow. 410

Sole partner, and sole part, of all these joys,

Dearer thyself than all; needs must the Power

That made us, and for us this ample world,

Be infinitely good, and of his good

As liberal and free as infinite;

415

That rais'd us from the dust and plac'd us here

In all this happiness, who at his hand

Ought whereof he hath need, he who requires
 From us no other service than to keep 420
 This one, this easy charge, of all the trees
 In Paradise that bear delicious fruit
 So various, not to taste that only tree
 Of knowledge, planted by the tree of life;
 So near grows death to life, whate'er death is, 425
 Some dreadful thing no doubt; for well thou know'st
 God hath pronounc'd it death to taste that tree,
 The only sign of our obedience left
 Among so many signs of pow'r and rule
 Conferr'd upon us, and dominion given 430
 Over all other creatures that possess
 Earth, air, and sea. Then let us not think hard

One

this made Dr. Bentley read *best part for sole part*, thinking that *sole part* is a contradiction, and so it is as he understands of here, to be the mark of the genitive case govern'd of *part*. Pearce.

421. *This one, this easy charge, &c.*] It was very natural for Adam to discourse of this, and this was what Satan wanted more particularly to learn; and it is express'd from God's command, Gen. II. 16, 17. *Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat; but of the tree of knowledge of good and evil, thou shalt not eat of it, for in the day that*

thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die. And in like manner when Adam says afterwards

— *dominion given*
Over all other creatures that possess
Earth, air, and sea,

it is taken from the divine commission, Gen. I. 28. *Have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over every living thing that moveth upon the earth.* These things are so evident, that it is almost superfluous to mention them. If we take notice of them, it is that every reader may be sensible

10 prune these growing plants, and tend the
 Which were it toilsome, yet with thee w
 To whom thus Eve reply'd. O thou for
 And from whom I was form'd flesh of thy
 And without whom am to no end, my g
 And head, what thou hast said is just and
 For we to him indeed all praises owe,
 And daily thanks; I chiefly who enjoy

fible how much of Scripture our
 author hath wrought into this di-
 vine poem.

449. *That day I oft remember, &c.*]
 The remaining part of Eve's speech,
 in which she gives an account of
 herself upon her first creation, and
 the manner in which she was
 brought to Adam, is I think as
 beautiful a passage as any in Mil-
 ton, or perhaps in any other poet
 whatsoever. These passages are all

found it very difficult
 these tender parts of t
 sentiments proper for
 nocence; to have
 warmth of love and t
 of it without artifice
 to have made the mu
 most endearing things
 scending from his nat
 and the woman rec
 without departing fr
 desty of her character

So far the happier lot, enjoying thee
 Ræminent by so much odds, while thou
 Like comfort to thyself canst no where find.
 That day I oft remember, when from sleep
 First awak'd, and found myself repos'd 450
 Under a shade on flow'rs, much wond'ring where
 And what I was, whence thither brought, and how.
 Not distant far from thence a murm'ring sound
 Of waters issued from a cave, and spread
 Into a liquid plain, then stood unmov'd 455
 Pure as th' expanse of Heav'n; I thither went
 With unexperienc'd thought, and laid me down
 In the green bank, to look into the clear

Smooth

em, as particularly in this speech
 Eve, and the lines following it.
 The poet adds, that the Devil
 fled away at the sight of so much
 happiness.

Addison.
That day I oft remember, From this
 well as several other passages
 in the poem it appears, that the
 poet supposes Adam and Eve to
 have been created, and to have
 lived many days in Paradise be-
 fore the fall. See IV. 639, 680,
 &c. V. 31. &c.

450. *I first awak'd,*] As death is
 often compar'd to *sleep*, so our
 coming into life may well be
 compar'd to *waking*: And Adam
 speaks in the same figure, VIII.

3.

As new wak'd from soundest
 sleep, &c.

If we compare his account of him-
 self upon his creation with this
 here given by Eve, the beauty and
 propriety of each will appear to
 greater advantage.

451. *Under a shade on flow'rs,*] The first edition has *under a shade on flow'rs*, the second *under a shade of flow'rs*; and the subsequent editions vary in like manner, some exhibiting *on flow'rs*, others of *flow'rs*; but *repos'd on flow'rs under a shade* seems to be much better than *a shade of flow'rs*.

458. — *to look into the clear Smooth lake,*] It has been asked, sarcastically

Smooth lake, that to me seem'd another sky.
 As I bent down to look, just opposit 46
 A shape within the watry gleam appear'd,
 Bending to look on me: I started back,
 It started back; but pleas'd I soon return'd,
 Pleas'd it return'd as soon with answ'ring looks
 Of sympathy and love: there I had fix'd 46
 Mine eyes till now, and pin'd with vain desire,
 Had not a voice thus warn'd me, What thou seest,
 What there thou seest, fair Creature, is thyself;
 With thee it came and goes: but follow me,
 And I will bring thee where no shadow stays 47
 Thy coming, and thy soft embraces, he
 Whose image thou art; him thou shalt enjoy
 Inseparably thine, to him shalt bear

Multis

sarcastically enough, (Spectator, Vol. 5. N^o 325.) whether some moral is not couch'd under this place, where the poet lets us know, that the first woman immediately after her creation ran to a looking-glass, and became so enamour'd of her own face, that she had never removed to view any of the other works of nature, had not she been led off to a man. However that be, this account that Eve gives of her coming to a lake, and there falling in love with her own image, when

she had seen no other human creature, is much more probable natural, as well as more delicate and beautiful, than the story of Narcissus in Ovid, whom our author manifestly alludes to by the hint, and has expressly in some passages, but has avoid'd his puerilities without losing his beauties, as the reader easily observe by comparing together, Met. III. 457.

Spem mihi nescio quam vult
 multis amico:

Multitudes like thyself, and thence be call'd
 Mother of human race. What could I do, 475
 But follow strait, invisibly thus led?
 Till I espy'd thee, fair indeed and tall,
 Under a platan; yet methought less fair,
 Less winning soft, less amiably mild,
 Than that smooth watry image: back I turn'd; 480
 Thou following cry'dst aloud, Return fair Eve,
 Whom fly'st thou? whom thou fly'st, of him thou art,
 His flesh, his bone; to give thee be'ing I lent
 Out of my side to thee, nearest my heart
 Substantial life, to have thee by my side 485
 Henceforth an individual solace dear;
 Part of my soul I seek thee, and thee clame
 My other half: with that thy gentle hand

Seis'd

Cumque ego porrexi tibi brachia,
 porrigis ultro:

Cum risi, arrides: lacrymas quoque
 saepe notavi

Me lacrymante tuas. —

Ista repercusse, quam cernis, ima-
 ginis umbra est:

Nihil habet ista sui: tecum venitque
 manetque;

Tecum discedet, si tu discedere
 possis.

478. *Under a platan;*] The plane
 tree so named from the breadth of

its leaves, ΠΛΑΤΥΣ, Greek, broad;
 a tree useful and delightful for its
 extraordinary shade, Virg. Georg.
 IV. 146.

Jamque ministrantem *platanum* po-
 tantibus umbram. *Hume.*

483. *His flesh, his bone;*] The
 Scripture expression; *bone of my
 bones and flesh of my flesh*, Gen. II.
 23. as afterwards when he calls her
Part of my soul — my other half, it
 is from Horace,

Anima dimidium mea. Od. I. III. 8.

492. *So*

Seis'd mine; I yielded, and from that time see
 How beauty is excell'd by manly grace 490
 And wisdom, which alone is truly fair.

So spake our general mother, and with eyes
 Of conjugal attraction unprov'd,
 And meek surrender, half embracing lean'd
 On our first father; half her swelling breast 495
 Naked met his under the flowing gold
 Of her loose tresses hid: he in delight

Both

492. *So spake our general mother,* ten or a dozen stanzas upon this
and with eyes occasion, and with its luxuriant
Of conjugal attraction unprov'd, wildness chang'd Adam and Eve
 &c.] Spenser, Fairy Queen, into a Venus and Adonis. *Tbys.*

both of her beauty and submissive charms
 smil'd with superior love, as Jupiter
 when Juno smiles, when he impregns the clouds 500
 that shed May flow'rs; and press'd her matron lip
 with kisses pure: aside the Devil turn'd
 for envy, yet with jealous leer malign
 w'd them askance, and to himself thus plain'd.

Sight hateful, sight tormenting! thus these two 505
 imparadis'd in one another's arms,

The

like, and describes the earth put-
 ting forth her fairest flowers as the
 immediate effect of them. And
 Virgil likewise in describing the
 spring employs the same kind of
 images, and represents Jupiter op-
 erating upon his spouse for the
 production of all things, Georg.
 325.

*Sum pater omnipotens fecundis
 imbribus æther
 conjugis in gremium lætæ descen-
 dit, et omnes
 magnus alit, magno commixtus
 corpore, fœtus.*

or then almighty Jove descends,
 and pours
 into his buxom bride his fruitful
 show'rs;
 and mixing his large limbs with
 hers, he feeds
 her births with kindly juice, and
 fosters teeming seeds. Dryden.

That expression of *the clouds bedding
 flow'rs* is very poetical, and not un-
 Vol. I.

like that fine one in the Psalms of
the clouds dropping fatness, Psal.
 LXXV. 12. and it is said *May flow'rs*
 to signify that this is done in the
 spring, as Virgil describes it. And
 then follows *and press'd her matron
 lip*, where the construction is *Adam
 smil'd with superior love, and press'd
 her matron lip*, the simile being to be
 understood as included in a paren-
 thesis. *Her matron lip* evidently
 signifies her married lip, in distinc-
 tion from a maiden or a virgin lip,
 as Ovid Fast. II. 528. speaking of
 Lucretia then married, says *matron
 cheeks*,

Et matronales erubuere genæ.

It implies that she was married to
 him, and that therefore their kisses
 were lawful and innocent. It was
 the innocence of their loves that
 made the Devil turn aside for envy,

506. *Imparadis'd in one another's
 arms.*] *Imparadis'd* has been
 remark'd as a word first coin'd by
 Milton.

The happier Eden, shall enjoy their fill
Of bliss on bliss; while I to Hell am thrust,
Where neither joy nor love, but fierce desire,
Among our other torments not the least, 510
Still unfulfill'd with pain of longing pines.
Yet let me not forget what I have gain'd
From their own mouths: all is not theirs it seems;
One fatal tree there stands of knowledge call'd,
Forbidden them to taste: Knowledge forbidden? 515
Suspicious, reasonless. Why should their Lord
Envy them that? can it be sin to know?
Can it be death? and do they only stand
By ignorance? is that their happy state.

IV. PARADISE LOST.

299

more desire to know, and to reject
 us commands, invented with design
 eep them low whom knowledge might exalt
 | with Gods: aspiring to be such, 526
 taste and die: what likelier can ensue?
 rft with narrow search I must walk round
 garden, and no corner leave unspy'd; 529
 nce but chance may lead where I may meet
 wand'ring Spi'rit of Heav'n by fountain side,
 thick shade retir'd, from him to draw
 : further would be learn'd. Live while ye may,
 appy pair; enjoy, till I return,
 pleasures, for long woes are to succeed. 535
 saying, his proud step he scornful turn'd,
 ith fly circumspection, and began [roam:
 igh wood, through waste, o'er hill, o'er dale, his
 Mean

first parents were created
 -fect understanding, and the
 owledge that was forbidden
 knowledge of evil by the
 ion of it.

A chance but chance may lead
 they censure this jingle,
 icks it unbecoming Satan at
 is a juncture to catch at
 erefore proposes to read
 y chance may lead &c. Dr.

Pearce says that without any al-
 teration or any pun we may
 read

A chance (but chance) may lead &c
 that is a chance, and it can be only
 a chance, may lead &c. But this
 sort of jingle is but too common
 with Milton. This here is not
 much unlike the *forte fortuna* of the
 Latins.

Mean while in utmost longitude, where Heaven
 With earth and ocean meets, the setting sun 540
 Slowly descended, and with right aspect
 Against the eastern gate of Paradise
 Level'd his evening rays: it was a rock
 Of alabaster, pil'd up to the clouds,
 Conspicuous far, winding with one ascent 545
 Accessible from earth, one entrance high;
 The rest was craggy cliff, that overhung

Still

539. — *in utmost longitude,*] At the utmost length, at the farthest distance. Longitude is length, as in V. 754. and to reconcile them I think we must read *Had low descended* or perhaps *Lowly descended*, or understand it as Dr. Pearce explains it, that

Still as it rose, impossible to climb.
 Betwixt these rocky pillars Gabriel sat,
 Chief of th' angelic guards, awaiting night; 550
 About him exercis'd heroic games
 Th' unarmed youth of Heav'n, but nigh at hand
 Celestial armoury, shields, helms, and spears,
 Hung high with diamond flaming, and with gold.
 Thither came Uriel, gliding through the even 555
 On a sun beam, swift as a shooting star

In

were ready. The Angels would not be idle, but employ'd themselves in these noble exercises. So the soldiers of Achilles during his quarrel with Agamemnon, and so the infernal Spirits, when their chief was gone in search of the new creation, II. 528. *Richardson.*

555. — *gliding through the even*] That is thro' that part of the hemisphere, where it was then evening. Evening (says Dr. Bentley) is no place of space to glide thro': no more is day or night, and yet in the sense, which I have given to *even*, Milton says in the next verse but one *thwarts the night*, and elsewhere speaks of *the confines of day*. Pearce.

In ver. 792. Uriel is said to be arriv'd from *the sun's decline*, which is no more a place than the evening, but beautifully poetical; and justify'd by Virgil, Georg. IV. 59. where a swarm of bees sails thro' the glowing summer;

Nare per æstatem liquidam suspexeris agmen. *Richardson.*

556. *On a sun beam,*] Uriel's gliding down to the earth upon a sun-beam, with the poet's device to make him *descend*, as well in his return to the sun, as in his coming from it, is a prettiness that might have been admired in a little fanciful poet, but seems below the genius of Milton. The description of the host of armed Angels walking their nightly round in Paradise, is of another spirit,

So saying, on he led his radiant files
 Dazling the moon;

as that account of the hymns which our first parents used to hear them sing in these their midnight walks, is altogether divine, and inexpressibly amusing to the imagination.

Addison.
 As Uriel was coming from the sun

In autumn thwarts the night, when vapors fir'd
 Imprefs the air, and shows the mariner
 From what point of his compafs to beware
 Impetuous winds : he thus began in hafte. 560

Gabriel, to thee thy courfe by lot hath given
 Charge and ftrict watch, that to this happy place
 No evil thing approach or enter in.

This

to the earth, his coming upon a fun-beam was the moft direct and level courfe that he could take ; for the fun's rays were now pointed right againft the eastern gate of Paradise, where Gabriel was fitting, and to whom Uriel was going. And the thought of making

λεγομένην κομητήν, ut Scholiaftes malè (and fo likewise Mr. Pope tranflates it) fed stellæ trajectionem. The fall of Phaeton is illustrated with the fame comparifon by Ovid, Met. II. 320.

Volvitur in præceps, longoque per

This day at highth of noon came to my sphere
 A Spirit, zealous, as he seem'd, to know 565
 More of th' Almighty's works, and chiefly Man,
 God's latest image: I describ'd his way
 Bent all on speed, and mark'd his aery gate;
 But in the mount that lies from Eden north,
 Where he first lighted, soon discern'd his looks 570
 Alien

ther, as Virgil himself has noted long ago, Georg. I. 365.

Sæpe etiam stellas vento impendente videbis
 Præcipites cœlo labi, noctisque per umbram
 Flammarum longos a tergo albescere tractus.

And oft before tempestuous winds arise,
 The seeming stars fall headlong from the skies;
 And shooting through the darkness gild the night
 With sweeping glories, and long trails of light. Dryden.

560. — *he thus began in haste.*] This abruptness is here very elegant and proper to express the haste that he was in.

561. — *thy course by lot*] He speaks as if the Angels had their particular courses and offices assign'd them by lot, as the priests had in the service of the temple. See 1 Chron. XXIV. and Luke I. 8, 9.

563. *No evil thing approach or enter in.*] Dr. Bentley objects, that the natural order is inverted, *enter after approach*; for if the very approach was stopt, the entrance was impossible. But the order seems rightly observed in the common reading, if we allow the sense to be this, Not to suffer any *evil thing to approach*, or at least to *enter in*. Pearce.

567. *God's latest image:*] For the first was Christ, and before Man were the Angels. So in III. 151. Man is called God's *youngest son*.

567. — *I describ'd his way*] Some read *descry'd*, but *describ'd* is properest. He *describ'd* to Satan or show'd him the way to Paradise, as it is said he did in III. 722, 733. and *mark'd his aery gate*; For it was sportive in *many an aery wheel*, as we read in the conclusion of the third book; and it was well taken notice of there, as such use is made of it here. And the same we may observe of the turbulent passions discover'd in him on mount Niphates in this book, ver. 125—

Alien from Heav'n, with passions foul obscur'd:
Mine eye pursued him still, but under shade
Lost sight of him: one of the banish'd crew,
I fear, hath ventur'd from the deep, to raise
New troubles; him thy care must be to find. 575

To whom the winged warrior thus return'd.
Uriel, no wonder if thy perfect sight,
Amid the sun's bright circle where thou sitst,
See far and wide: in at this gate none pass
The vigilance here plac'd, but such as come 580
Well known from Heav'n; and since meridian hour
No creature thence: if Spi'rit of other sort,

So minded, have o'erleap'd these earthy bounds
On purpose, hard thou know'st it to exclude
Spiritual substance with corporeal bar.

585

But if within the circuit of these walks,
In whatsoever shape he lurk, of whom
Thou tell'st, by morrow dawning I shall know.

So promis'd he; and Uriel to his charge
Return'd on that bright beam, whose point now rais'd
Bore him slope downward to the sun now fall'n
Beneath th' Azores; whether the prime orb,
Incredible how swift, had thither roll'd
Diurnal, or this less volúbil earth,

By

592. *Beneath th' Azores;*] They are islands in the great Atlantic or western ocean; nine in number; commonly call'd the Terceras, from one of them. Some confound the Canaries with them.

Hume and Richardson.

592. — *whether the prime orb, &c.]* The sun was *now fall'n beneath th' Azores*, with three syllables, for so it is to be pronounc'd: *whether*, not *whither* as in Milton's own editions, *the prime orb*, the sun, *had roll'd thither diurnal*, that is in a day's time, with an incredible swift motion; or *this less volúbil earth*, with the second syllable long as it is in the Latin *volubilis*,

Impubesque manus mirata volubile buxum.

Virg. Æn. VII. 382.

he writes it *voluble* when he makes the second syllable short as in IX. 436. *by shorter sight to the east, had left him there* at the Azores, it being a less motion for the earth to move from west to east upon its own axis according to the system of Copernicus, than for the Heavens and heavenly bodies to move from east to west according to the system of Ptolomy. Our author in like manner, III. 575. questions whether the sun was in the center of the world or not, so scrupulous was he in declaring for any system of philosophy.

598. *Now*

Now falling with soft slumbrous weight inclines 615
 Our eye-lids: other creatures all day long
 Rove idle unemploy'd, and less need rest;
 Man hath his daily work of body' or mind
 Appointed, which declares his dignity,
 And the regard of Heav'n on all his ways; 620
 While other animals unactive range,
 And of their doings God takes no account.
 To morrow ere fresh morning streak the east
 With first approach of light, we must be risen,
 And at our pleasant labor, to reform 625
 Yon flow'ry arbors, yonder alleys green,
 Our walk at noon, with branches overgrown,
 That mock our scant manuring, and require

More

Now falling with soft slumbrous weight inclines

Our eye-lids:] Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 1. St. 36.

The drooping night thus creepeth on them fast,

And the sad humor loading their eye-lids,

As messenger of Morpheus on them cast

Sweet slumbring dew, the which to sleep them bids. Thyer.

627. *Our walk*] In the first edition it was *our walks*, in the second and all following *our walk*.

628. *That mock our scant manuring,*] Manuring is not here to be understood in the common sense, but as working with hands, as the French *manouvrier*; 'tis, as immediately after, to lop, to rid away what is scatter'd. *Richardson.*

635. *My Author and Disposer,*] *For whom and from whom I was form'd* in our poet's own words, ver. 440. *My Author*, the author of my being, out of whom I was made. *Hart.*

We have another view of our first parents in their evening discourses, which are full of pleasing images and

ore hands than ours to lop their wanton growth:
 rose blossoms also, and those dropping gums, 630
 at lie bestrown unfightly and unsmooth,
 k riddance, if we mean to tread with ease;
 can while, as Nature wills, night bids us rest.
 To whom thus Eve with perfect beauty' adorn'd.
 y Author and Disposer, what thou bidst 635
 argued I obey; so God ordains;
 d is thy law, thou mine: to know no more
 woman's happiest knowledge and her praise.
 ith thee conversing I forget all time;
 l seasons and their change, all please alike. 640
 eet is the breath of morn, her rising sweet,
 ith charm of earliest birds; pleasant the sun,

When

sentiments suitable to their
 lition and characters. The
 ch of Eve in particular is dress-
 up in such a soft and natural
 of the words, as cannot be
 ciently admired. *Addison.*

40. *All seasons and their change,*
 should understand here the sea-
 of the day, and not of the

. So in VIII. 69. we read
 s *seasons*, hours, or days, or
 months, or years:

in IX. 200. he says Adam and
 partake *the season prime for
 rest seats*, that is the morning.

It was now an *eternal spring*, ver.
 268. and we shall read in X. 677.
 of the changes made after the fall,

— to bring in change
 Of seasons to each clime; else had
 the spring
 Perpetual smil'd on earth with ver-
 nant flowers.

And we may farther observe, that
 Eve in the following charming lines
 mentions *morning, evening, night*,
 the times of the day, and not the
 seasons of the year.

641. *Sweet is the breath of morn,*
 &c.] Mr. Dryden in his preface to
 Juvenal

When first on this delightful land he spreads
His orient beams, on herb, tree, fruit, and flower,
Glist'ring with dew; fragrant the fertile earth 645
After soft show'rs; and sweet the coming on
Of grateful evening mild; then silent night
With this her solemn bird, and this fair moon,
And these the gems of Heav'n, her starry train:
But neither breath of morn, when she ascends 650
With charm of earliest birds; nor rising sun
On this delightful land; nor herb, fruit, flower,
Glist'ring with dew; nor fragrance after showers;
Nor grateful evening mild; nor silent night
With this her solemn bird, nor walk by moon 655

This glorious fight, when sleep hath shut all eyes?

To whom our general ancestor reply'd.

Daughter of God and Man, accomplish'd Eve, 660

These have their course to finish round the earth,

By morrow evening, and from land to land

In order, though to nations yet unborn,

Ministring light prepar'd, they set and rise;

Lest total darkness should by night regain 665

Her old possession, and extinguish life

In nature and all things, which these soft fires

Not only inlighten, but with kindly heat

Of various influence foment and warm,

Temper or nourish, or in part shed down 670

Their stellar virtue on all kinds that grow

On earth, made hereby apter to receive

Perfection

so frequently salute each other, were agreeable to the stile of the ancient times, as appears from several of the like nature in Scripture. Milton has not been wanting to give his poem this cast of antiquity, throughout which our first parents almost always accost each other with some title, that expresses a respect to the dignity of human nature.

661. *These have their course*] I have presum'd to make a small alteration here in the text, and read *These*, though in most other edi-

tions and even in Milton's own I find *These*; because it is said before, ver. 657.

But wherefore all night long shine *these*?

and afterwards, ver. 674.

These then, though unbeheld in deep of night,
Shine not in vain;

both which passages evince that *These* here is an error of the press.

671. *Their stellar virtue*] As Milton was an universal scholar, so he

Perfection from the sun's more potent ray.
 These then, though unbeheld in deep of night,
 Shine not in vain; nor think, though men were none,
 That Heav'n would want spectators, God want praise.
 Millions of spiritual creatures walk the earth
 Unseen, both when we wake, and when we sleep:
 All these with ceaseless praise his works behold
 Both day and night: how often from the steep
 Of echoing hill or thicket have we heard
 Celestial voices to the midnight air,
 Sole, or responsive each to others note,
 Singing their great Creator? oft in bands
 While they keep watch, or nightly rounding walk
 With heav'nly touch of instrumental sounds

he had not a little affectation of showing his learning of all kinds, and makes Adam discourse here somewhat like an adept in astrology, which was too much the philosophy of his own times. What he says afterwards of numberless spiritual creatures walking the earth unseen, and joining in praises to their great Creator, is of a nobler strain, more agreeable to reason and revelation, as well as more pleasing to the imagination, and seems to be an imitation and improvement of old Hesiod's notion of good geniuses, the guardians of mortal men, clothed with wand'ring every where through earth. See Hesiod, l. 120—121.
 682. *Celestial voices to the midnight air,*] Singing to midnight air. So in Virg. Ed. L.
 — *canet frondator ad auris.*
 For as Dr. Pearce observes it should be a comma after *not*, the construction may be *Singing to their great Creator to the midnight air.* And this notion of singing thus by night is agreeable to the account given by Lucretius IV. 586.

n full harmonic number join'd, their songs
Divide the night, and lift our thoughts to Heaven.

Thus talking hand in hand alone they pass'd
On to their blissful bow'r; it was a place 690
Thos'n by the sovran Planter, when he fram'd
All things to Man's delightful use; the roof
Of thickest covert was inwoven shade
Laurel and myrtle, and what higher grew
Of firm and fragrant leaf; on either side 695
Canthus, and each odorous bushy shrub
Enc'd up the verdant wall; each beauteous flower,
In all hues, roses, and jessamin
Bearing high their flourish'd heads between, and
wrought

Mosaic;

Quorum noctivago strepitu, ludo-
que jocanti
Adfirmant volgò taciturna silentia
rumpi,
Chordarumque sonos fieri, dul-
cesque querelas,
Tibia quas fundit digitis pulsata
canentum.

688. *Divide the night,*] Into
atches, as the trumpet did among
the Ancients, sounding as the
atch was relieved, which was
alled *dividing the night*.

— cum buccina noſtem
Divideret. Sil, Ital. VII. 154.
Richardſon.

VOL. I.

694. *Laurel and myrtle,*] Virg.
Ecl. II. 54.

Et vos, ô lauri, carpam, et te
proxima myrte,
Sic poſitæ quoniam ſuaves miſce-
tis odores. *Hume.*

698. *Iris*] The flower-de-luce
ſo call'd from reſembling the colors
of the Iris or rainbow. *Iris all
hues*, that is *of all hues*, as a little
before we have *inwoven ſhade
laurel and myrtle*, that is inwoven
shade of laurel and myrtle. Such
omiffions are frequent in Milton,

F f

700 — the

Moisaic; underfoot the violet,
 Crocus, and hyacinth with rich inlay
 Broider'd the ground, more color'd than with
 Of costliest emblem: other creature here,
 Beast, bird, insect, or worm durst enter nor
 Such was their awe of Man. In shadier bow
 More sacred and sequester'd, though but feign
 Pan or Sylvanus never slept, nor Nymph,

700. — *the violet,*

Crocus, and hyacinth] Our author has taken this from Homer, who makes the same sort of flowers to spring up under Jupiter and Juno as they lay in conjugal embraces upon mount Ida, Iliad. XIV. 347.

Τοισι δ' ὑπο χθων δια φων νεο-
 θηλεα ποίω,
 Λωτον δ' ερσηνθα, ιδε κροκον,
 ηδ' υακινθον
 Πυκνον και μαλακον' ες απο χθο-
 νος υψος' εεργε.

Glad earth perceives, and from
 her bosom pours
 Unbidden herbs, and voluntary
 flow'rs;
 Thick new-born violets a soft car-
 pet spread,
 And clustering lotos swell'd the ris-
 ing bed,
 And sudden hyacinths the turf
 bestrow,
 And flaming crocus made the moun-
 tain glow.

Where Mr. Pope remarks that in

our author the very tra-
 mer's verses is observe
 cadence, and almost
 finely translated.

703. *Of costliest embel-*
blem is here in the Greek
 sense for inlaid floors of
 wood, to make figures
 cal or pictural:

Arte pavimenti atque
 vermiculato. *Ben*

705. — *In shadier b*
 it is in the first edition;
 cond we read *In shady b*
 with such a space as is
 between two words, as i
 ter r had occupy'd the s
 by some accident had
 impression. *In shadier b*
 more strongly the shadie
 as the retiredness of the
 the shadiness is a princip
 stance of the description,
 bower is seldom mention
 is called *shady bow*,
 V. 367, 375. *shady lodge*.
shady arbutous roof, V. 1.

IV. PARADISE LOST.

315

Faunus haunted. Here in close recess
 h flowers, garlands, and sweet-smelling herbs
 used Eve deck'd first her nuptial bed, 710
 heav'nly quires the hymenæan sung,
 at day the genial Angel to our fire
 ght her in naked beauty more adorn'd,
 e lovely than Pandora, whom the Gods
 ow'd with all their gifts, and O too like 715
 In

t of the simile then is this, never was a more shady, sacred and sequester'd bower, but in fiction, than this reality. Pan, the God of rds, or Sylvanus, the God of and groves, Wood-nymph, or the tutelary God of huf- en, were not even feign'd to a more sweet recess than this am and Eve.

. With flowers,] Milton usu- wells it *flours*, but here it is wo syllables *flowers*, which me imagin that he writ al- *flour* when it was to be pro- d as one syllable, and *flower* it was to be pronounc'd as yllables: but upon farther nation we find, that when he nces the word as one syl- he sometimes spells it *flower* sometimes *flours*, sometimes and so likewise *bower* he differently *hower*, *bowr*, ; and *flower* likewise *flower*, *floure*. It is fitting that all should be reduced to some

certain standard, and what standard more proper than the present practice, and especially since there are several instances of the same in Milton himself?

714. More lovely than Pandora, &c.] The story is this. Prometheus the son of Japhet (or Japetus) had stol'n fire from Heaven, *Jove's authentic fire*, the original and prototype of all earthly fire, which Jupiter being angry at, to be reveng'd sent him Pandora, so call'd because all the Gods had contributed their gifts to make her more charming (for so the word signifies). She was brought by Hermes (Mercury) but was not received by Prometheus the wiser son of Japhet (as the name implies) but by his brother Epimetheus *th' unwiser son*. She entic'd his foolish curiosity to open a box which she brought, wherein were contain'd all manner of evils. Richardson.

The epithet *unwiser* does not imply that his brother Prometheus was unwise. Milton uses *unwiser*,

In sad event, when to th' unwiser son
 Of Japhet brought by Hermes, she insnar'd
 Mankind with her fair looks, to be aveng'd
 On him who had stole Jove's authentic fire.

Thus at their shady lodge arriv'd, both stood, 720
 Both turn'd, and under open sky ador'd
 The God that made both sky, air, earth and heaven,
 Which they beheld, the moon's resplendent globe,
 And starry pole: Thou also mad'st the night,
 Maker omnipotent, and thou the day,

725
 Which

as any Latin writer would *imprudentior*, for not so wise as he should have been. So *audacior*, *timidior*.

And now arriving at their shady lodge
 Both stood, both turn'd, and ad-

ch we in our appointed work employ'd
 e finish'd, happy in our mutual help
 mutual love, the crown of all our blifs
 in'd by thee, and this delicious place
 us too large, where thy abundance wants 730
 akers, and uncropt falls to the ground.
 thou haft promis'd from us two a race
 ill the earth, who shall with us extol
 goodness infinite, both when we wake,
 when we seek, as now, thy gift of sleep. 735
 This

lly without them. There is
 instance of this kind out of
 r, in the 23d chapter of Lon-
Addison.

ceive Mr. Addison meant
 27. and the instance there
 is of Hector being first nam'd,
 hen of a sudden introduced
 aking, without any notice
 that he does so. But the
 ion here in Milton is of ano-
 ort; it is first speaking of a
 1, and then suddenly turning
 scourse, and speaking of him.
 we may observe the like tran-
 from the third to the second
 1 in the hymn to Hercules,
Æn. VIII. 291.

ut duros mille labores
 alerit. Tu nubigenas, invicte,
 ximembres &c.

3. — and this delicious place]
 Bentley reads *Thou this delicious*

place, that is *Thou mad'st* &c. as in
 ver. 724. *Thou also mad'st the night.*
 Dr. Pearce chooses rather to read
 thus,

— the crown of all our blifs
 Ordain'd by thee in this delicious
 place.

The construction no doubt is some-
 what obscure, but without any al-
 teration we may understand the
 passage with Dr. Pearce thus, and
 thou mad'st *this delicious place*: or
 with Mr. Richardson thus, *happy in*
our mutual help and mutual love, the
 chief of all our blifs, thy gift, and
 happy in *this delicious Paradise*: or
 thus, *happy in our mutual help and*
mutual love, the crown of all our blifs,
and of this delicious place.

735.—*thy gift of sleep.*] Dr. Bent-
 ley reads *the gift*, and observes that
 it is word for word from Homer,
 who has the expression frequently:

Srait side by side were laid; nor turn'd I
 Adam from his fair spouse, nor Eve the
 Mysterious of connubial love refus'd:
 Whatever hypocrites austere talk
 Of purity and place and innocence,

Κοιμησαν] ας' απητα, και υπνη
 δωρον ελον]ο.

But *thy gift* is right, for in ver. 612.
 Milton says that *God bath set labor
 and rest to men successive*; therefore
 sleep is *God's gift*: and Virgil (whom
 Milton oftner imitates than Homer)
 says of sleep,

— dono Divum gratissima serpit.
 Æn. II. 269. *Pearce.*

736. *This said unanimous, and other
 rites*

*Observing none, but adoration pure
 Which God likes best,*] Here Mil-
 ton expresses his own favorite no-
 tion of devotion, which is in small

744. *Whatever*
 Our author calls th
 a notion of greater
 fection decry and
 as they do in the C
hypocrites; and says
 it is the doctrine of
 allusion to that of
 1 Tim. IV. 1, 2,
rit speaketh expressly
times some shall depra-
giving heed to sedi-
doctrins of Devils, &
poctry, having beci-
ed with a bat ira-
marry, &c.

ming as impure what God declares
 ;, and commands to some, leaves free to all.
 Maker bids increase; who bids abstain
 our Destroyer, foe to God and Man?
 wedded Love, mysterious law, true source 750
 human offspring, sole propriety
 aradise of all things common else.
 hee adult'rous lust was driv'n from men
 ong the bestial herds to range; by thee
 ded in reason, loyal, just, and pure, 755

Relations

no modo, &c. The quotation
 swell this note to too great
 gth; but the reader, who un-
 ds Italian, may, if he please,
 ure the original with our au-
 and he will easily perceive
 an excellent copier Milton
 as judicious in omitting some
 instances as in imitating others.
 in one of Tasso's letters to
 lation Signor Hercole Tasso,
 . p. 150. Edit. In Venetia.

for by *mysterious* he (Dr. Bentley)
 means, itself *bidden* or *conceal'd*;
 and Milton means, containing some
 hidden meaning in it, besides the
 plain precept which appear'd.

Pearce.

752. — *of all things common else.*
 Dr. Bentley reads *'mong all things*;
 but *of* signifies *among* in this place,
 as it does in ver. 411. and in V.
 659. VI. 24. and elsewhere.

Pearce.

. — *mysterious law,*] That
 luding a *mystery* in it, in the
 sense as *mysterious rites* are
 n of before. He plainly al-
 to St. Paul's calling *matri-*
 a *mystery*, Eph. V. 32. No
 then for Dr. Bentley's *myste-*
 rague: and his objection, that
 supposed to be *mysterious* is
 v at all, is easily answer'd;

753. *By thee adult'rous lust &c.*]
 Mr. Lauder asserts that these lines
 are copied from the panegyric on
 marriage in the Triumphus Pacis or
 congratulatory poem on the peace
 betwixt Holland and England in
 1655 by Caspar Staphorstius:

Aufpice te, fugiens alieni subcuba
 lecti,

F f 4

Dira

Relations dear, and all the charities
 Of father, son, and brother first were known.
 Far be' it, that I should write thee sin or blame,
 Or think thee unbefitting holiest place,
 Perpetual fountain of domestic sweets, 760
 Whose bed is undefil'd and chaste pronounc'd,
 Present, or past, as saints and patriarchs us'd.
 Here love his golden shafts employs, here lights
 His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings,
 Reigns here and revels; not in the bought smile 765
 Of

Dira libido hominum tota de gente
 repulsa est: finity, as in Cicero *De Officiis*, l.
 17. Cari sunt parentes, cari liberi.

harlots, loveless, joyless, unidear'd,
 ual fruition; nor in court amours,
 k'd dance, or wanton mask, or midnight ball,
 serenate, which the starv'd lover sings
 his proud fair, best quitted with disdain. 770
 ese lull'd by nightingales embracing slept,
 l on their naked limbs the flow'ry roof
 w'rd roses, which the morn repair'd. Sleep on,
 ft pair; and O yet happiest, if ye seek
 happier state, and know to know no more. 775
 Now

m of the poem is in a manner
 ended, and while Adam and
 are lying down to sleep; and
 morality be one great end of
 ry, that end cannot be better
 noted than by such digressions
 is and that upon hypocrisy at
 utter part of the third book.

65. *Reigns here and revels;*]
 ut our author here says of mar-
 : Marino applies in the same
 is to Venus in his description
 er, Adon. Cant. 2. St. 114.
 'tis probable that Milton al-
 d to this and other such extra-
 nces of the poets, and meant
 y, that what they had extrava-
 ly and falsly applied to loose
 on love, was really true of that
 on in its state of innocence.
 iui Amor si traſtulla, e quindi
 impera. *Thyſer.*

769. *Or serenate, which the starv'd
 lover sings]* We commonly
 say *serenades* with the French, but
 Milton keeps, as usual, the Italian
 word *serenate*, which the starv'd
 lover sings, *starv'd* as this compli-
 ment was commonly pay'd in *se-
 renas*, in clear cold nights. Horace
 mentions this circumstance, Od. III.
 X. 1.

Extremum Tanain si biberes,
 Lyce,
 Sævo nupta viro, me tamen as-
 peras
 Proiectum ante fores objicere in-
 colis
 Plorares aquilonibus :

and in another of his odes he has
 preserved a fragment of one of
 these songs, Od. I. XXV. 7.

Me tuo longas pereunte noctes,
 Lydia, dormis.

776. *Now*

This evening from the sun's decline arriv'd
Who tells of some infernal Spirit seen
Hitherward bent (who could have thought?) escap'd
The bars of Hell, on errand bad no doubt: 795
Such where ye find, seize fast, and hither bring.

So saying, on he led his radiant files,
Dazling the moon; these to the bow'r direct
In search of whom they fought: him there they found
Squat like a toad, close at the ear of Eve, 800
Assaying by his devilish art to reach
The organs of her fancy', and with them forge
Illusions as he list, phantasms and dreams,

Like gentle breaths from rivers pure, thence raise
 At least distemper'd, discontented thoughts,
 Vain hopes, vain aims, inordinate desires,
 Blown up with high conceits ingendring pride.
 Him thus intent Ithuriel with his spear 810
 Touch'd lightly; for no falshood can indure
 Touch of celestial temper, but returns
 Of force to its own likeness: up he starts
 Discover'd and surpris'd. As when a spark
 Lights on a heap of nitrous powder, laid 815
 Fit for the tun some magazine to store
 Against a rumor'd war, the smutty grain
 With sudden blaze diffus'd inflames the air:
 So started up in his own shape the Fiend.

Back

might raise at least vain thoughts,
 if not sinful actions.

814. — *As when a spark
 Lights on a heap of nitrous powder,
 &c.]* Ariosto uses the same simile
 to describe a sudden start of pas-
 sion. *Orl. Fur. Cant. 10. St. 40.*

*Non così fin salnitro, e zolfo puro
 Tocco dal foco, subito s' auampa.*
 Ev'n as salt-peter mixt with brim-
 stone pure,
 Inflameth strait, when once it feels
 the fire. Harrington
Thyer.

816. *Fit for the tun]* 'Tis com-
 monly call'd a *barrel*: but Milton
 for the sake of his verse, and per-
 haps for the sake of a less vulgar
 term, calls it a *tun* from the French
tonneau, any cask or vessel.

819. *So started up in his own shape
 the Fiend.]* His planting
 himself at the ear of Eve under
 the form of a toad, in order to pro-
 duce vain dreams and imaginations,
 is a circumstance that surpriseth the
 reader; as his starting up in his
 own form is wonderfully fine, both
 in the literal description, and in
 the moral which is concealed under
 it.

Back stept those two fair Angels half amaz'd 820
So sudden to behold the grisly king;
Yet thus, unmov'd with fear, accost him soon:

Which of those rebel Spi'rits adjudg'd to Hell
Com'st thou, escap'd thy prison? and transform'd,
Why satst thou like an enemy in wait, 825
Here watching at the head of these that sleep?

Know ye not then, said Satan fill'd with scorn,
Know ye not me? ye knew me once no mate
For you, there fitting where ye durst not soar:
Not to know me argues yourselves unknown, 830
The lowest of your throng; or if ye know,

Think not, revolted Spi'rit, thy shape the same, 835
 Or undiminish'd brightness to be known,
 As when thou stood'st in Heav'n upright and pure;
 That glory then, when thou no more wast good,
 Departed from thee'; and thou resemblest now
 Thy sin and place of doom obscure and foul. 840
 But come, for thou, be sure, shalt give account
 To him who sent us, whose charge is to keep
 This place inviolable, and these from harm.

So spake the Cherub; and his grave rebuke,
 Severe in youthful beauty, added grace 845
 Invincible: abash'd the Devil stood,
 And felt how awful goodness is, and saw
 Virtue' in her shape how lovely; saw, and pin'd
 His loss; but chiefly to find here observ'd

His

Doctor reads *Or brightness undiminish'd*; which order of the words we must follow, unless it may be thought as small an alteration to read thus,

Think not, revolted Spi'rit, by
 shape the same
 Or undiminish'd brightness to be
 known.

just as in I. 732. we have

— his hand was known

In Heav'n by many a towred structure high. *Pearce.*

But without any alteration may we not understand *shape* and *brightness* as in the accusative case after the verb *think*? Think not thy shape the same, or undiminish'd brightness to be known now, as it was formerly in Heaven.

845. *Severe in youthful beauty, added grace*] Virg. *Æn.* V. 344.

Gratior et pulchro veniens in corpore virtus.

848. *Virtue in her shape how lovely; &c.*] What is said here of *seeing Virtue*

His lustre visibly impair'd; yet seem'd 850
 Undaunted. If I must contend, said he,
 Best with the best, the sencer not the sent,
 Or all at once; more glory will be won,
 Or less be lost. Thy fear, said Zephor bold,
 Will save us trial what the least can do 855
 Single against thee wicked, and thence weak.

The Fiend reply'd not, overcome with rage;
 But like a proud steed rein'd, went haughty on,
 Champing his iron curb: to strive or fly
 He held it vain; awe from above had quell'd 860
 His heart, not else dismay'd. Now drew they nigh

ag next command. To whom their chief
 l from the front thus call'd aloud. 865
 iends, I hear the tread of nimble feet
 g this way, and now by glimpse discern
 l and Zephon through the shade,
 ith them comes a third of regal port,
 led splendor wan; who by his gate 870
 rce demeanour seems the prince of Hell,
 ely to part hence without contest;
 irm, for in his look defiance lours.
 carce had ended, when those two approach'd,
 ief related whom they brought, where found,
 usied, in what form and posture couch'd. 876
 whom with stern regard thus Gabriel spake.

Why

Gabriel from the front] Ga-
 rnonounced here as a word
 syllables, tho' commonly
 as only of two; a liberty
 ilton takes in the names of
 els.

O friends, I hear &c.] Ga-
 fcovering Satan's approach
 ance is drawn with great
 and liveliness of imagina-
Addison.

ned Mr. Upton in his *Cri-*
ticisms on Shakespear re-
 hat Milton in this whole
 keeps close to his master
 who sends out Ulysses and
 I.

Diomede into the Trojan camp as
 spies, Iliad. X. 533.

Ω φίλοι ———
 Ἰσπαν μ' ἠκούσαν ἀμφὶ κίλυπος
 κατὰ βαλλει.

O friends, I hear the tread of
 nimble feet.

Οὐπω πάν εἰρητο ἐπ' ὅτ' ἀρ'
 ηλυθον αὐτοί. VER. 540.

He scarce had ended when those
 two approach'd.

877. — *with stern regard*] An-
 swering to the Homeric *δεινὸν δεῖ-*
 G g *κράδην*

Employ'd it seems
Whose dwelling Go
To whom thus Sa
Gabriel, thou hadst
And such I held the
Puts me in doubt. I
Who would not, fin
Though thither doo
And boldly venture

αὐτοῦ, Iliad. III. and ὁ
αὐτοῦ, torve intuitus, Iliad. I

378. — *broke the bounds pre*
To thy transgressions,] Dr. B
reads *transgressions*; and Mi
chardson understands *transg*
in the same sense. But as Dr. F
observes, though it is right to

Farthest from pain, where thou might'st hope to change
 Torment with ease, and soonest recompense
 Dole with delight, which in this place I fought;
 To thee no reason, who know'st only good, 895
 But evil hast not try'd: and wilt object
 His will who bound us? let him surer bar
 His iron gates, if he intends our stay
 In that dark durance: thus much what was ask'd.
 The rest is true, they found me where they say; 900
 But that implies not violence or harm.

Thus he in scorn. The warlike Angel mov'd,
 Disdainfully half smiling thus reply'd.
 O loss of one in Heav'n to judge of wise,
 Since Satan fell, whom folly overthrew, 905
 And

notion both to the one and the other.

883. — *to violate sleep,*] Shakespear in Macbeth has a stronger expression, *to murder sleep*; both equally proper in the places where they are employ'd.

887. — *but this question ask'd* *Puts me in doubt.*] Homer: Thou seem'dst a wise man formerly, Νῦν δ' ἀόρεσι φῶτι τοι κακ. Bentley.

892. — *to change* *Torment with ease,*] We commonly say to change one thing for another, and Dr. Bentley would read *for ease* in this place: but *to change*

torment with ease is according to the Latins, whom Milton often follows. *Glandem mutavit arista.* Virg. Georg. I. 8.

896. — *and wilt object* *His will who bound us?*] If these words are to be read with a note of interrogation as in all the editions, *thou* must be understood, and Dr. Bentley chooses to read *and wilt thou' object.* It is a concise way of speaking somewhat like that in II. 730. *and know'st for whom.* But I have sometimes thought that the passage may be read without the note of interro-

However, and to scape his
So judge thou still, presumpt
Which thou incurr'ft by fly
Sev'nfold, and scourge that
Which taught thee yet no b
Can equal anger infinite pro
But wherefore thou alone?
Came not all Hell broke loc
Lefs pain, lefs to be fled? c
Lefs hardy to indure? coura
The first in flight from pain
To thy deserted host this ca
Thou surely hadst not come
To which the Fiend thus

KIV. PARADISE LOST. 333

that I less indure, or shrink from pain, 925

ling Angel; well thou know'st I stood

fiercest, when in battel to thy aid

: blasting volied thunder made all speed,

l seconded thy else not dreaded spear.

still thy words at random, as before, 930

ue thy inexperience what behoves

n hard affays and ill succeses past

uthful leader, not to hazard all

ough ways of danger by himself untry'd:

erefore, I alone first undertook 935

wing the desolate abyss, and spy

s new created world, whereof in Hell

æ is not silent, here in hope to find

er abode, and my afflicted Powers

settle here on earth, or in mid air; 940

ugh for possession put to try once more

at thou and thy gay legions dare against;

ose easier business were to serve their Lord

High

lives. Dr. Pearce gives seven instances, II. 278. *The sensible in.* XI. 4. *The stony from their* s. XI. 497. *His best of man.* 8. *The blasting*] Thus 'tis in the edition, the second has it *Tby*;

but 'tis wrong no doubt. The word occurs very often thereabouts, and probably occasion'd the mistake. The sense requires it to be *The*. Richardson.

High up in Heav'n, with songs to hymn his throne,
And practic'd distances to cringe, not fight. 945

To whom the warrior Angel soon reply'd.

To say and straight unsay, pretending first

Wife to fly pain, professing next the spy,

Argues no leader but a liar trac'd,

Satan, and couldst thou faithful add? O name, 950

O sacred name of faithfulness profan'd!

Faithful to whom? to thy rebellious crew?

Army of Fiends, fit body to fit head.

Was this your discipline and faith engag'd,

Your military obedience, to dissolve 955

Alliance to thy acknowledged Devil's command?

Heav'n's awful monarch? wherefore but in hope
To dispossess him, and thyself to reign?

But mark what I arreed thee now, Avant;
Noly thither whence thou fledst: if from this hour
Within these hallow'd limits thou appear,
Back to th' infernal pit I drag thee chain'd, 965
And seal thee so, as henceforth not to scorn
The facil gates of Hell too slightly barr'd.

So threaten'd he; but Satan to no threats
Gave heed, but waxing more in rage reply'd.

Then when I am thy captive talk of chains, 970
Proud limitary Cherub, but ere then
Far heavier load thyself expect to feel
From my prevailing arm, though Heaven's king
Ride on thy wings, and thou with thy compeers,
Press'd to the yoke, draw'st his triumphant wheels 975

In

971. *Proud limitary Cherub,*]
how proud prescribing Angel that
sumest to *limit* me, and appoint
y prison, according to Mr. Hume.
r rather *limitary*, let to guard the
ounds; a taunt insulting the good
ngel as one employ'd on a little
ean office, according to Mr. Ri-
ardson. For *limitary* (as Dr. Hey-
a remarks) is from *limitaneus*.
lilites limitanei are soldiers in gar-
son upon the frontiers. So *Dux*

limitaneus. Digest. And as Mr.
Thyer farther observes, the word
is intended as a scornful sneer upon
what Gabriel had just said,

— if from this hour
Within these hallow'd *limits* thou
appear.

974. *Ride on thy wings, &c.*]
This seems to allude to Ezekiel's
vision, where four Cherubims are
appointed to the four wheels: *And*
str

In progress through the road of Heav'n star-pav'd.

While thus he spake, th'angelic squadron bright

Turn'd fiery red, sharp'ning in mooned horns

Their phalanx, and began to hem him round

With ported spears, as thick as when a field 980

Of Ceres ripe for harvest waving bends

Her

the Cherubims did lift up their wings, and the wheels besides them, and the glory of the God of Israel was over them above. See Chap. I. and X. and XI. 22.

977. *While thus he spake, &c.*] The conference between Gabriel and Satan abounds with sentiments proper for the occasion, and suitable to the persons of the two

tions of the army after Agamemnon's speech to the waving of the ears of corn. *Iliad.* II. 147.

ὦς δ' ὅτε κινήσει Ζεφύροισιν
λήϊστον ἔλθων

λαβροῖσιν ἐπαγιζών, ἐπιτ' ἠμυρῶν
ἀσάχυσσιν·

ὦς τῶν πᾶσ' ἀγορῆ κινήθη.

Her bearded grove of ears, which way the wind
 Sways them; the careful plowman doubting stands,
 Lest on the threshing floor his hopeful sheaves
 Prove chaff. On th' other side Satan alarm'd 985
 Collecting all his might dilated stood,
 Like Teneriff or Atlas unremov'd :

His

an eager and undaunted combatant, where fury not only seems to erect and enlarge his stature, but expands as it were his whole frame, and extends every limb. I don't remember to have ever before met with the word *dilated* applied in the same manner in our language.

Like Teneriff or Atlas unremov'd:

So Satan in Tasso, Cant. 4. St. 6.

Ne pur Calpe s'inalza, o' l' magno Atlante,
 Ch' anzi lui non pareffe un picciol colle.

The use of the word *unremov'd* for immoveable is very poetical, and justify'd by Milton's *conjugal attraction unprov'd*, and Spenser's *unprov'd trust*. See the note on 492. *Tbyer*,

987. *Like Teneriff or Atlas unremov'd*:] Well may Satan be liken'd to the greatest mountains, and be said to stand as firm and immoveable as they, when Virgil has applied the same comparison to his hero, *Æn. XII. 701.*

Quantus Athos, aut quantus Eryx,
 aut ipse corufcis
 Cum fremit ilicibus quantus, gaudetque nivali
 Vertice se attollens pater Apenninus ad auras.

Like Eryx, or like Athos great he shows,
 Or father Apennine, when white with snows,
 His head divine obscure in clouds he hides,
 And shakes the sounding forest on his sides. Dryden.

Mr. Hume says that the Peak of Teneriff is 15 miles high, and Mr. Richardson asserts that it is 45 miles perpendicular, if that be not a false print 45 for 15: but the utmost that we can suppose is that it is 15 miles from the very first ascent of the hill till you come thro' the various turnings and windings to the top of all; for I have been assur'd from a gentleman who measur'd it, that the perpendicular highth of it is no more than one mile and three quarters.

His stature reach'd the sky, and on his crest
 Sat horror plum'd; nor wanted in his grasp
 What seem'd both spear and shield: now dreadful
 deeds

990

Might have ensued, nor only Paradise
 In this commotion, but the starry cope

Of

688. *His stature reach'd the sky.*] It is probable that besides Homer's Diiscord, Iliad. IV. 443.

Οὐρανοῦ ἐσνεῖζε κἀπὶ
 χθονὶ βαυνοῖ,

and Virgil's Fame, Æn. IV. 177.

Ingrediturque solo, et caput inter

Suffinet, Ætnæos efflantem fauibus ignes.

A triple pile of plumes his crest
 adorn'd,

On which with belching flames
 Chimæra burn'd! Dryden.

989.—*nor wanted in his grasp &c.*]

This is said to signify that he want-

Of Heav'n perhaps, or all the elements
 At least had gone to wrack, disturb'd and torn
 With violence of this conflict, had not soon 995
 Th' Eternal to prevent such horrid fray
 Hung forth in Heav'n his golden scales, yet seen
 Betwixt Aſtrea and the Scorpion ſign,

Wherein

— μαλα γαρ κε μαχης επι-
 βουλο και αλλοι,
 'Οτι περ περτερεσι νησι θεοι, Κερον
 αμφις εοντες.

And all the Gods that round old
 Saturn dwell,
 Had heard the thunders to the
 deeps of Hell. Pope.

996. [Th' Eternal to prevent such
 horrid fray] The breaking
 off the combat between Gabriel
 and Satan, by the hanging out of
 the golden scales in Heaven, is a
 refinement upon Homer's thought,
 who tells us that before the battel
 between Hector and Achilles, Ju-
 piter weighed the event of it in a
 pair of scales. The reader may
 ſee the whole paſſage in the 22d
 Iliad. Virgil before the laſt deci-
 ſive combat deſcribes Jupiter in the
 ſame manner, as weighing the fates
 of Turnus and Æneas. Milton,
 tho' he fetch'd this beautiful cir-
 cumſtance from the Iliad and Æneid,
 does not only infer it as a poeti-
 cal embellishment, like the authors
 above mention'd; but makes an
 artful uſe of it for the proper car-

rying on of his fable, and for the
 breaking off the combat between
 the two warriors, who were upon
 the point of engaging. To this
 we may further add, that Milton is
 the more juſtify'd in this paſſage,
 as we find the ſame noble allegory
 in holy Writ, where a wicked
 prince, ſome few hours before he
 was aſſaulted and ſlain, is ſaid to
 have been weighed in the ſcales, and
 to have been found wanting.

Addiſon.

997. — [his golden ſcales,] So
 they are in Homer χρυσεια τα-
 λαντες, both where he weighs the
 deſtinies of the Greeks and Tro-
 jans in book the 8th, and the fates
 of Hector and Achilles in book
 the 22d. And this figure of weigh-
 ing the deſtinies of men appear'd
 ſo beautiful to ſucceeding poets,
 that Æſchylus (as we are inform'd
 by Plutarch in his treatiſe of *Hear-
 ing the poets*) writ a tragedy upon
 this foundation, which he intitled
 ψυχουσασια or the weighing of
 ſouls.

998. [Betwixt Aſtrea and the Scor-
 pion ſign,] Libra or the Scales

is

Wherein all things created first he weigh'd,
 The pendulous round earth with balanc'd air 1000
 In counterpoise, now ponders all events,

Battels

is one of the twelve signs of the zodiac, as *Africa* (or *Virgo* the *Virgin*) and *Scorpio* also are. This does as it were realize the fiction, and gives consequently a greater force to it.

Richardson.

This allusion to the sign *Libra* in the Heavens is a beauty that is not in *Homer* or *Virgil*, and gives this passage a manifest advantage over both their descriptions.

999. *Wherein all things created first he weigh'd, &c.*] This of weighing the creation at first and of all events since gives us a

kingdom, and finish'd it, thou art weigh'd in the balances. So finely hath *Milton* improv'd upon the fictions of the poets by the eternal truths of holy Scripture.

1003. *The sequel each of parting and of fight;*] *Dr. Bentley* reads *The signal each &c.* To understand which of these two readings suits the place best, let us consider the poet's thought, which was this: God put in the golden scales two weights: in the one scale he put the weight, which was the sequel (that is represented the conse-

ls and realms: in these he put two weights
 sequel each of parting and of fight;
 latter quick up flew, and kick'd the beam;

Which

victory; whereas the other in which was the *sequel* of *retreating*, having *descend*, it was a sign that his *going* quietly would be his wisest *rightest* attempt. The reader excuse my having been so long *note*, when he considers that *entley* and probably many have *misunderstood* Milton's *it* about the scales, judging *y* what they read of Jupiter's in Homer and Virgil; the *it* of which is very different *this* of Milton; for in them *ates* of the two combatants *igh'd* one against the other, *the* descent of one of the scales *ow'd* the death of him whose *ty* in that scale, *quo vergat* *letum*: whereas in Milton *g* is weigh'd but what relates *an* only, and in the two scales *igh'd* the two different events *retreating* and his *fighting*, *what* has been said it may *r* pretty plainly, that Milton *uel* meant the consequence or *as* it is express'd in *ver*. *and* then there will be no *on* for Dr. Bentley's *signal*; *because* it is a very improper *in* this place, and because a *of parting and of fight*, can *thing* else than a *signal* when *rt* and when to fight; which *ill* not pretend to be the

poet's meaning. *Pearce*.
 It may be proper, before we con-
 clude, to produce the passages out
 of Homer and Virgil, whereof so
 much has been said, that the reader
 may have the satisfaction of com-
 paring them with our author, Iliad.
 VIII. 69.

Και τότε δὴ χρυσεῖα πατὴρ ἐπι-
 ταινε τάλαντα·
 Ἐν δ' ἐτίθει δύο κηρὲς ταυπέλεσθε
 θανάτοις,
 Τρῶων θ' ἱπποδάμων, καὶ Ἀχαι-
 ῶν χαλκοχιτῶνων·
 Ἐλκε δὲ μεσθα λάβων, ῥεπε δ'
 αἰσιμον ἡμᾶρ Ἀχαιῶν.
 Αἰ μιν Ἀχαιῶν κηρὲς ἐπὶ χθονὶ
 πελυβοτέρῃ
 Ἐξέσθην· Τρῶων δὲ πρὸς ἕρπον
 εὐρυν αἰρθεῖν.

The Sire of Gods his golden scales
 suspends,
 With equal hand: in these ex-
 plor'd the fate
 Of Greece and Troy, and pois'd
 the mighty weight.
 Prefs'd with its load the Grecian
 balance lies
 Low sunk on earth, the Trojan
 strikes the skies. *Pope*.

The same lines, mutatis mutandis,
 are apply'd to Hector and Achilles
 in

Which Gabriel spying, thus bespake the Fiend. 1005

Satan, I know thy strength, and thou know'st mine,
Neither our own but giv'n; what folly then
To boast what arms can do? since thine no more
Than Heav'n permits, nor mine, though doubled now

To

in the 2d book, and there are thus translated.

Jove lifts the golden balances, that
show
The fates of mortal men, and
things below:
Here each contending hero's lot
he tries,
And weighs with equal hand their
destinies.

Every reader, who compares these passages with our author, must see plainly that tho' there is some resemblance, yet there is also great difference. There are *golden scales* in Homer as well as in Milton; but Milton in some measure authorizes the fiction by making his scales the balance in the Heavens. In Homer and Virgil the combatants are weigh'd one against ano-

To trample thee as mire: for proof look up, 1010
 And read thy lot in yon celestial sign,
 Where thou art weigh'd, and shown how light, how
 weak,
 If thou resist. The Fiend look'd up, and knew
 His mounted scale aloft: nor more; but fled
 Murm'ring, and with him fled the shades of night. 1015

1012. *Where thou art weigh'd, and shown how light, how weak,* Belshazzar, Dan. V. 27. *Thou art weigh'd in the balances, and art found wanting.* So true it is, that Milton oftner imitates Scripture than Homer and Virgil, even where he is and weakness according to that of thought to imitate them most.

The end of the Fourth Book.



THE
FIFTH BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

D. L. I.

H h

T H E A R G U M E N T.

Morning approach'd, Eve relates to Adam her
blefome dream; he likes it not, yet comforts
They come forth to their day labors: Their
ing hymn at the door of their bower. The
render man inexcusable sends Raphael to ad
him of his obedience, of his free estate,
enemy near at hand, who he is, and what
enemy, and whatever else may avail Adam
know. Raphael comes down to Paradise,
pearance describ'd, his coming discern'd by
afar off fitting at the door of his bower; he
out to meet him, brings him to his lodge,
tains him with the choicest fruits of Paradise
together by Eve; their discourse at table: Raphael
performs his message, minds Adam of his
and of his enemy; relates at Adam's request
that enemy is, and how he came to be so, his
ning from his first revolt in Heaven, and the
caſion thereof; how he drew his legions
to the parts of the north, and there incited
to rebel with him, persuading all but only
a Seraph, who in argument diſſuades and
him, then forſakes him.

PARADISE LOST.

B O O K V.

OW morn her rosy steps in th' eastern clime
 Advancing, sow'd the earth with orient pearl,
 When Adam wak'd, so custom'd, for his sleep
 Aery light from pure digestion bred,
 And temperate vapors bland, which th' only found
 Of

the morn her rosy steps] This morning of the day after coming to the earth; and she makes the morning with *rosy fingers*, ποσειδάωνιοι ἤως, 477. *the rosy-finger'd morn*, in gives her *rosy steps*, and a *rosy hand*. The morn is then rosy upon the nearer side of the sun. And she is *sow'd* the earth &c. by the use of metaphor as Lucretius the sun, II. 211.

lumine conferit arva.

The poet adds that the same allusion to the description he remembers seen somewhere in Shake-
 and more poetically ex-

The morn in saffron robe
 O'er the dew of yon high
 Eastern hill.

And he observes that Lucretius's metaphor *lumine conferit arva* wants much of the propriety of Milton's *sow'd the earth with orient pearl*, since the dew-drops have something of the shape and appearance of scatter'd seeds.

5. — *which th' only found &c.*]

Which refers to *sleep*, and not to *vapors* the substantive immediately preceding. I mention this because it has been mistaken. It is certainly more proper to say that the *sound* of leaves and *song* of birds dispersed *sleep* than *vapors*. The expression *only found* (as Dr. Pearce rightly observes) seems the same with that in VII. 123. *Only omniscient*; in both which places *only* signifies *alone*; *the only found*, for there was none other; and it is to be understood as meant of the *main song of the birds*, as well as of the

Of leaves and fuming rills, Aurora's fan,
 Lightly dispers'd, and the shrill matin song
 Of birds on every bough; so much the more
 His wonder was to find unwaken'd Eve
 With tresses discompos'd, and glowing cheek, 10
 As through unquiet rest: he on his side
 Leaning half rais'd, with looks of cordial love
 Hung over her enamour'd, and beheld
 Beauty, which whether waking or asleep,
 Shot forth peculiar graces; then with voice 15
 Mild,

the sound of leaves and fuming rills.
Fuming rills, for fumes or steams

— Καὶ μὴ σκεῖσθαι
 Τὴδ' ἀπο κρατὸς βλεψαμένη

Mild, as when Zephyrus on Flora breathes,
 Her hand soft touching, whisper'd thus. Awake
 My fairest, my espous'd, my latest found,
 Heav'n's last best gift, my ever new delight,
 Awake; the morning shines, and the fresh field 20
 Calls us; we lose the prime, to mark how spring
 Our tended plants, how blows the citron grove,
 What drops the myrrh, and what the balmy reed,
 How nature paints her colors, how the bee
 Sits on the bloom extracting liquid sweet. 25
 Such

*E mormorare il fiume, e gli ar-
 boscelli,
 E con l'onda scherzar l'aura, e co'
 fiori.*

The birds awak'd her with their
 morning song,
 Their warbling music pierc'd her
 tender ear,
 The murm'ring brooks, and whist-
 ling winds among
 The rattling boughs and leaves,
 their part did bear. Fairfax.

5.—*tb' only found*] This Dr. Bent-
 ley calls strange diction, and he will
 have it to be *early found*: but the
 present reading is countenanc'd by
 the following line in Spenser, Fairy
 Queen, B. 5. Cant. 11. St. 30.

As if *the only found* thereof she
 fear'd. *Thyer.*

16. *Mild, as when Zephyrus on
 Flora breathes,*] As when the

soft western gales breathe on the
 flowers. Exceeding poetical and
 beautiful. *Richardson.*

For this delightful simile Milton
 was probably oblig'd to his admir'd
 Ben Johnson in his *Mask of Love
 reconcil'd to Virtue.*

The fair will think you do 'em
 wrong,
 Go choose among — but with a
 mind

*As gentle as the stroaking wind
 Runs o'er the gentler flow'rs.*

Song 3d. *Thyer.*

21. — *we lose the prime,*] The
 prime of the day; as he calls it
 elsewhere

— that sweet hour of prime,

ver. 170.

and IX. 200.

The season prime for sweetest sent
 and airs.

H h 3

The

Such whisp'ring wak'd her, but with startled eye
On Adam, whom embracing, thus she spake.

O sole in whom my thoughts find all repose,
My glory, my perfection, glad I see
Thy face, and morn return'd; for I this night 39
(Such night till this I never pass'd) have dream'd,
If dream'd, not as I oft am wont, of thee,
Works of day past, or morrow's next design,

But

The word is used by Chaucer and Spenser, as in *Fairy Queen*, B. 1. Cant. 6. St. 13.

They all, as glad as birds of joyous prime.

26. *Such whisp'ring wak'd her,*]

between Adam and Eve, had his eye very frequently upon the book of Canticles, in which there is a noble spirit of eastern poetry, and very often not unlike what we meet with in Homer, who is generally plac'd near the age of So-

But of offense and trouble, which my mind
 Knew never till this irksome night: methought 35
 Close at mine ear one call'd me forth to walk
 With gentle voice, I thought it thine; it said,
 Why sleep'st thou Eve? now is the pleasant time,
 The cool, the silent, save where silence yields
 To the night-warbling bird, that now awake 40
 Tunes sweetest his love-labor'd song; now reigns
 Full

florish, whether the tender grapes appear, and the pomegranate bud forth.
 — His preferring the garden of Eden to that,

— where the sapient king
 Held dalliance with his fair Egyptian spouse, IX. 443.

shows that the poet had this delightful scene in view. *Addison.*

35. — *methought*
Close at mine ear &c.] Eve's dream is full of those *high conceits ingendring pride*, which we are told the Devil endeavor'd to instil into her. Of this kind is that part of it where she fancies herself awaken'd by Adam in the following beautiful lines,

Why sleep'st thou Eve? &c.

An injudicious poet would have made Adam talk thro' the whole work in such sentiments as these: but flattery and falshood are not the courtship of Milton's Adam, and could not be heard by Eve in her state of innocence, excepting

only in a dream produced on purpose to taint her imagination. Other vain sentiments of the same kind in this relation of her dream will be obvious to every reader. Tho' the catastrophe of the poem is finely prefiged on this occasion, the particulars of it are so artfully shadowed, that they do not anticipate the story which follows in the ninth book. I shall only add, that tho' the vision itself is founded upon truth, the circumstances of it are full of that wildness and inconsistency, which are natural to a dream. *Addison.*

41. *Tunes sweetest his love-labor'd song;]* Spenser in his Epithalamion, a poem which Milton seems often to imitate, has it "*the bird's love-learned song.* We must farther observe that our author takes great liberties in his use of the genders, sometimes making *him* and *her* and *it* of the same thing or creature. We have a very remarkable instance in VI. 878.

Full orb'd the moon, and with more pleasing light
Shadowy sets off the face of things; in vain,
If none regard; Heav'n wakes with all his eyes,
Whom to behold but thee, Nature's desire? 45
In whose sight all things joy, with ravishment
Attracted by thy beauty still to gaze.
I rose as at thy call, but found thee not;
To find thee I directed then my walk;
And on, methought, alone I pass'd through ways 50
That brought me on a sudden to the tree
Of interdicted knowledge: fair it seem'd,
Much fairer to my fancy than by day:

y us oft feen; his dewy locks distill'd 56
 mbrosia; on that tree he also gaz'd;
 nd O fair plant, said he, with fruit furcharg'd,
 eigns none to ease thy load and taste thy sweet,
 or God, nor Man? is knowledge so despis'd? 60
 r envy', or what reserve forbids to taste?
 orbid who will, none shall from me withhold
 onger thy offer'd good, why else set here?
 his said, he paus'd not, but with ventrous arm
 le pluck'd, he tasted; me damp horror chill'd 65
 t such bold words vouch'd with a deed so bold:
 ut he thus overjoy'd, O fruit divine,
 weet of thyself, but much more sweet thus cropt,
 orbidden here, it seems, as only fit

For

44. — *Heav'n wakes with all his eyes,*] Here again he has his
 after Spenser full in view, B. 3.
 int. 11. St. 45.

— with how many eyes
 ligh Heav'n beholds &c.

49. *To find thee I directed then my
 walk;*] So Ennius apud Ci-
 onem, De Divinat. I. 20.

— ita sola
 oft illa, germana foror, errare
 videbar,
 ardaque vestigare, et quærere
 te, neque posse

Corde capeffere: semita nulla pe-
 dem stabilibat.

53. *Much fairer to my fancy than
 by day;*] As the sensations
 are often more pleasing, and the
 images more lively, when we are
 asleep than when we are awake.
 And what can be the cause of this?
 Our author plainly thinks it may
 be effected by the agency of some
 spiritual being upon the sensory
 while we are asleep.

56. — *his dewy locks distill'd
 Ambrosia;*] So Virgil of Venus,
 Æn. I. 403.

Am-

For Gods, yet able to make Gods of Men: 70
And why not Gods of Men, since good, the more
Communicated, more abundant grows,
The author not impair'd, but honor'd more?
Here, happy creature, fair angelic Eve,
Partake thou also; happy though thou art, 75
Happier thou may'ft be, worthier canft not be:
Tafte this, and be henceforth among the Gods
Thyself a Goddefs, not to earth confin'd,
But fometimes in the air, as we, fometimes
Ascend to Heav'n, by merit thine, and fee 80
What life the Gods live there, and fuch live thou,
So fwing he drew nigh, and to me held

ook V. PARADISE LOST. 355

and various: wond'ring at my flight and change
to this high exaltation; suddenly 90
my guide was gone, and I, methought, sunk down,
and fell asleep; but O how glad I wak'd
to find this but a dream! Thus Eve her night
related, and thus Adam answer'd sad.

Best image of myself and dearer half, 95
the trouble of thy thoughts this night in sleep
affects me equally; nor can I like
this uncouth dream, of evil sprung I fear;
yet evil whence? in thee can harbour none,
created pure. But know that in the soul 100
are many lesser faculties, that serve
reason as chief; among these fancy next
her office holds; of all external things,
which the five watchful senses represent,
she forms imaginations, airy shapes, 105
which reason joining or disjoining, frames
all what we affirm or what deny, and call

Our

am. *Night* for the visions and
dreams frequent in it. So Sil. Ital.
. 216.

romissa evolvit fomni, noctemque
retractat. *Hume.*

94. — and thus Adam] Adam
conformable to his superior cha-
racter for wisdom instructs and
comforts Eve upon this occasion.

Addison.

117. *Evil*

With wheels yet hovering o'er the ocean brim, 140
Shot parallel to the earth his dewy ray,
Discovering in wide landskip all the east
Of Paradise and Eden's happy plains,
Lowly they bow'd adoring, and began
Their orisons, each morning duly paid 145
In various stile; for neither various stile
Nor holy rapture wanted they to praise
Their Maker, in fit strains pronounc'd or sung
Unmeditated, such prompt eloquence
Flow'd from their lips, in prose or numerous verse,
More tuneable than needed lute or harp 151

To add more sweetness; and they thus began.

These are thy glorious works, Parent of good,
 Almighty, thine this universal frame,
 Thus wondrous fair; thyself how wondrous then!
 Unspeakable, who sitst above these Heavens 156
 To us invisible, or dimly seen
 In these thy lowest works; yet these declare
 Thy goodness beyond thought, and pow'r divine.
 Speak ye who best can tell, ye sons of light, 160
 Angels; for ye behold him, and with songs
 And choral symphonies, day without night,
 Circle his throne rejoicing; ye in Heaven,

On

The author has raised our expectation by commending the various *style*, and *holy rapture*, and *prompt eloquence* of our first parents; and indeed the hymn is truly divine, and will fully answer all that we expected. It is an imitation, or rather a sort of paraphrase of the 148th Psalm, and (of what is a paraphrase upon that) the Cantic placed after *Te Deum* in the Liturgy, *O all ye works of the Lord, bless ye the Lord, &c.* which is the song of the three children in the Apocrypha.

155.—*thyself how wondrous then!* Wild. XIII. 3, 4, 5. *With whose beauty, if they being delighted, took them to be Gods; let them know how much better the Lord of them is: for*

the first author of beauty hath created them. But if they were astonished at their power and virtue, let them understand by them, how much mightier he is that made them. For by the greatness and beauty of the creatures, proportionably the maker of them is seen.

160. *Speak ye who best can tell, &c.* He is *unspeakable*, ver. 156. no creature can speak worthily of him as he is; but speak ye who are best able ye Angels, ye in Heaven; on Earth join all ye creatures, &c.

162.—*day without night,*] According to Milton there was *grateful vicissitude like day and night in Heaven*, VI. 8. and we presume that he took the notion from Scripture, Rev. VII. 15. *They are before the*
the



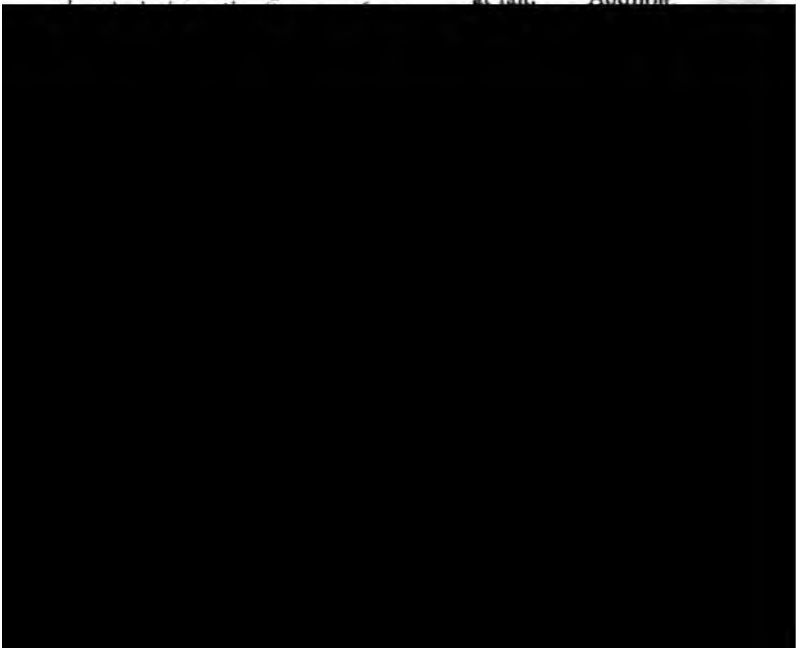
On Earth join all ye Creatures to extol
 Him first, him last, him midst, and without end. 165
 Fairest of stars, last in the train of night,
 If better thou belong not to the dawn,
 Sure pledge of day, that crown'st the smiling morn
 With thy bright circlet, praise him in thy sphere,
 While day arifes, that sweet hour of prime. 170
 Thou Sun, of this great world both eye and soul,
Acknowledge

*the throne of God, and serve him
 day and night in his temple. But
 still it was day without night, that
 is without such night as ours, for
 the darkness there is no more than
 grateful twilight. Night comes not*

Lucifer, et cæli statione novissimus
 exit.

The stars were fled, for Lucifer
 had chas'd

The stars away, and fled himself
 at last. Addison



Acknowledge him thy greater, found his praise
 In thy eternal course, both when thou climb'st,
 And when high noon hast gain'd, and when thou fall'st.
 Moon, that now meet'st the orient sun, now fly'st,
 With the fix'd stars, fix'd in their orb that flies, 176
 And ye five other wand'ring fires that move
 In mystic dance not without song, resound
 His praise, who out of darkness call'd up light.

Air,

172. *Acknowledge him thy greater,*] It is not an improbable reading which Dr. Bentley proposes *Acknowledge him Creator*, or as Mr. Thyer *Acknowledge thy Creator*: but I suppose the author made use of *greater* answering to *great*.

Thou Sun, of this *great* world
 both eye and soul,
 Acknowledge him thy *greater*.

So Ovid calls the sun *the eye of the world*, *Mundi oculus*, *Met.* IV. 228. And Pliny *the soul*, *Nat. Hist.* Lib. 1. c. 6. *Hunc mundi esse totius animum*. And the expression *thy greater* may be fitly parallel'd with *thy fiercest* IV. 927. and *his greater* in *Paradise Regain'd* I. 279.

173. *In thy eternal course,*] In thy continual course. Thus Virgil calls the sun, moon and stars *eternal fires*, *Æn.* II. 154. *Vos, æterni ignes*; and the sacred fire that was constantly kept burning *eternal fire*, *Æn.* II. 297.

VOL. I.

Æternumque adytis effert penetralibus ignem:

and uses the adverb *æternum* in the same manner for continually. *Georg.* II. 400.

— glebaque versis

Æternum frangenda bidentibus.

175. *Moon, that now meet'st the orient sun, now fly'st,* &c.] The construction is, *Thou Moon, that now meet'st and now fly'st the orient sun, together with the fix'd stars, and ye five other wand'ring fires* &c. He had before called upon the sun who governs the day, and now he invokes the moon, and the *fix'd stars*, and the *planets* who govern the night, to praise their Maker. The moon sometimes *meets* and sometimes *fies* the sun, approaches to and recedes from him in her monthly course *With the fix'd stars, fix'd in their orb that flies*; they are *fix'd* in their orb, but their orb *flies*, that is moves round with the utmost rapidity; for Adam

I i

13

Air, and ye Elements, the eldest birth 180

Of Nature's womb, that in quaternion run

Perpetual circle, multiform; and mix

And nourish all things; let your ceaseless change

Vary to our great Maker still new praise.

Ye Mists and Exhalations that now rise 185

From hill or steaming lake, dusky or gray,

Till the sun paint your fleecy skirts with gold,

In honor to the world's great Author rise,

Whether to deck with clouds th' uncolor'd sky,

Or

is made to speak according to appearances and he mentions in antecedents and particularly to Pythagoras his notion of the world of the

Or wet the thirsty earth with falling showers, 190

Rising or falling still advance his praise.

His praise ye Winds, that from four quarters blow,

Breathe soft or loud; and wave your tops, ye Pines,

With every plant, in sign of worship wave.

Fountains and ye, that warble, as ye flow, 195

Melodious murmurs, warbling tune his praise.

Join voices all ye living Souls; ye Birds,

That singing up to Heaven gate ascend,

Bear on your wings and in your notes his praise.

Ye

181.—*that in quaternion run &c.*] That in a fourfold mixture and combination run a perpetual circle, one element continually changing into another, according to the doctrine of Heraclitus, borrow'd from Orpheus. Et cum quattuor sint genera corporum, vicissitudine eorum mundi continuata natura est. Nam ex terra, aqua: ex aqua, oritur aer: ex aere, æther: deinde retrorsum, vicissim ex æthere, aer: inde aqua: ex aqua, terra infima. Sic naturis his, ex quibus omnia constant, sursum, deorsum, ultro, citro commeantibus, mundi partium conjunctio continetur. Cicero de Nat. Deor. II. 33.

197. — *ye living Souls;*] *Soul* is used here as it sometimes is in Scripture for other creatures besides Man. So Gen. I. 20. *the moving creature that hath life*, that is *soul* in the Hebrew, and in the

margin of the Bible; and ver. 30. *every thing that creepeth upon the earth, wherein there is life*, that is *a living soul*.

198. *That singing up to Heaven gate ascend.*] We meet with the like hyperbole in Shakespear, Cymbeline, Act II.

Hark, hark! the lark at Heav'n's gate sings;

and again in his 29th sonnet,

Like as the lark at break of day arising

From fullen earth sings hymns at Heaven's gate:

and not unlike is that in Homer, Od. XII. 73. of a very high rock,

— κειρον ορυον ελασθη
Οξειη κορυφη.

And with its pointed top to Heav'n ascends.

202. *Witness if I be*
Bentley thinks that Milton got that both Adam and Eve in this hymn, and that he reads *if we be silent*, the next verse but one by Milton rather imitates the ancient chorus, where the plural, and sometimes the number is used. The method used by our poet in the chorus in Sampson where the reader will find almost that the chorus thus varied. Dr. Bentley thinks that the whole hymn divides itself into parts in which and that he has preferred it so, tho' not warranted in his edition. But this is Bentley's invention; for the poet set to music some years ago that composition the first of it were assign'd to Adam and Eve. I think that interlocutory parts are not fit for an heroic poem: the author should be supposed

Book V. PARADISE LOST. 365

Universal Lord, be bounteous still 205

Give us only good; and if the night

We gather'd ought of evil or conceal'd,

Perse it, as now light dispels the dark.

So pray'd they innocent, and to their thoughts

Firm

Jupiter give us good things,
 For ever pray for them or not,
 Remove from us evil things,
 Tho' we pray for them. And
 Learn from the first book of
 Ephron's memoirs of his master
 Plutarch, that Socrates was wont
 To pray to the Gods only to give
 Us evil things, as they knew best
 That things were so. *ευχεται δε
 οτι τις θεος απλως τ' αγαθα
 ηναι, ως τις θεος καλλιστα ει-
 εις οποια αγαθα εστι.* And to
 the same purpose there is an ex-
 ample collect in our Liturgy, for
 the eighth Sunday after Trinity,
*humbly beseech thee to put away
 from us all hurtful things, and to
 give us those things which be profi-
 table for us.*

So pray'd they innocent, and
 to their thoughts
 Firm peace recover'd soon and want-
 ed calm.

On to their morning's rural work
 they haste &c.] These verses
 thus pointed in the best, that is
 Milton's own editions: but the
 first sentence begins very abrupt-
 ly. On to their morning's work &c.
 Bentley therefore continuing
 the sentence reads thus,

So pray'd they innocent; and to
 their thoughts

Firm peace recover'd soon and
 wanted calm,

On to their morning's rural work
 they haste &c.

Dr. Pearce thinks the sentence suf-
 ficiently continued in the common
 reading, if *recover'd* be a partici-
 ple of the ablative case; and
 conceives this to be the construc-
 tion, *Peace and calm being recover'd
 to their thoughts, they haste &c.* and
 accordingly points it thus,

— and, to their thoughts

Firm peace recover'd soon and
 wanted calm,

On to their morning's rural work
 they haste.

But perhaps the abruptness of the
 line

On to their morning's rural work
 they haste

was design'd the better to express
 the haste they were in as they were
 later to day than usual: Or per-
 haps with an easy alteration it may
 be read thus,

Then to their morning's rural work
 they haste.

Firm peace recover'd soon and wonted calm. 210
 On to their morning's rural work they haste
 Among sweet dews and flow'rs; where any row
 Of fruit-trees over-woody reach'd too far
 Their pamper'd boughs, and needed hands to check
 Fruitless embraces: or they led the vine 215
 To wed her elm; she spous'd about him twines
 Her marriageable arms, and with her brings
 Her dow'r th' adopted clusters, to adorn

His

214. *Their pamper'd boughs,*] The propriety of this expression will best be seen by what Junius says of the etymology of the word *pamper*. that is very fitly made the employment of a married couple, which is urged in Ovid as an argument to marriage. Met. XIV. 66.

His barren leaves. Them thus employ'd beheld
 With pity Heav'n's high king, and to him call'd 220
 Raphael, the sociable Spirit, that deign'd
 To travel with Tobias, and secur'd
 His marriage with the sev'ntimes-wedded maid.

Raphael, said he, thou hear'st what stir on Earth
 Satan from Hell scap'd through the darksome gulf
 Hath rais'd in Paradise, and how disturb'd 226
 This night the human pair, how he designs

In

Yet this tall elm, but for his vine
 (he said)
 Had stood neglected, and a barren
 shade;
 And this fair vine, but that her
 arms surround
 Her marry'd elm, had crept along
 the ground. Pope.

And Virgil likewise has the metaphor of the vine embracing the elm, Georg. II. 367.

Inde ubi jam validis *amplexæ* stir-
 pibus ulmos
 Exierint :

and not only the poets, but Columella and the writers of rustic affairs frequently use the phrases of *nupta vitis*, and *marita ulmus*.

222. *To travel with Tobias,*] In the book of Tobit the Angel Raphael travels with Tobias into Media and back again, and instructs him how to marry Sara the daugh-

ter of Raguel, and how to drive away the wicked Spirit who had destroy'd her former seven husbands before they had knowledge of her. So *sociable a Spirit* as this is very properly sent to converse with Adam upon this occasion.

224. *Raphael, said he, thou hear'st what stir on Earth &c]* Milton in the following scene seems to have had his eye in a particular manner upon the 9th Canto of Tasso's Jerusalem, where God sends Michael to assist the Christians. What God says here to Raphael is express'd much after the same manner with the beginning of God's speech to Michael, St. 58.

— Non vedi hor come s'armi
 Contra la mia fedel dilledda greg-
 gia
 L'empia schiera d' Auerno —
 Thyer.

In them at once to ruin all mankind.

Go therefore, half this day as friend with friend
Converse with Adam, in what bow'r or shade 230
Thou find'st him from the heat of noon retir'd,
To respit his day-labor with repast,
Or with repose; and such discourse bring on,
As may advise him of his happy state,
Happinefs in his pow'r left free to will, 235
Left to his own free will, his will though free,
Yet mutable; whence warn him to beware
He swerve not too secure: tell him withal

His

His danger, and from whom; what enemy,
 Late fall'n himself from Heav'n, is plotting now
 The fall of others from like state of blifs; 241
 By violence? no, for that shall be withstood;
 But by deceit and lies; this let him know,
 Left wilfully transgressing he pretend
 Surprisal, unadmonish'd, unforewarn'd. 245

So spake th' eternal Father, and fulfill'd
 All justice: nor delay'd the winged Saint
 After his charge receiv'd; but from among
 Thousand celestial Ardors, where he stood

Veil'd

question but Milton had this circumstance in his thoughts, because in the following book he describes the chariot of the Messiah with living wheels, according to the plan of Ezekiel's vision. I question not but Bossu and the two Daciers, who are for vindicating every thing that is censured in Homer, by something parallel in holy Writ, would have been very well pleased had they thought of confronting Vulcan's tripodes with Ezekiel's wheels.

Addison.

It perhaps would be an entertainment to the curious reader to compare this circumstantial description of Raphael's descent from Heaven with that of Michael in Tasso's *Gier. Lib. Cant. 9. St. 60, 61, 62.* They seem both to have been much labor'd by their respective

authors, and have each their particular beauties and defects. Milton does not in this place seem to endeavor to imitate, as he does in many others, the Italian poet, but rather to strive to rival and outdo him, and to have chosen for that purpose circumstances of a different sort to embellish his description. Which has succeeded best, every reader must determine for himself. *Tbver.*

249. *Thousand celestial Ardors,]*

Ardor in Latin implies fervency, exceeding love, eager desire, fiery nature; all included in the idea of an Angel. *Richardson.*

By the word *Ardors* here Milton only means Seraphim, which signifies just the same in Hebrew (being deriv'd from *zaraph* to burn) as *Ardors* does in English.

The

Veil'd with his gorgeous wings, up springing light 250
Flew through the midst of Heav'n; th' angelic quires,
On each hand parting, to his speed gave way
Through all th' empyreal road; till at the gate
Of Heav'n arriv'd, the gate self-open'd wide
On golden hinges turning, as by work 255
Divine the sovran Architect had fram'd.
From hence, no cloud, or, to obstruct his sight,
Star interpos'd, however small he sees,
Not unconform to other shining globes,
Earth and the gard'n of God, with cedars crown'd
Above all hills. As when by night the glafs 261

Of Galileo, less assur'd, observes
 Imagin'd lands and regions in the moon;
 Or pilot, from amidst the Cyclades
 Delos or Samos first appearing, kens 265
 A cloudy spot. Down thither prone in flight
 He speeds, and through the vast ethereal sky
 Sails between worlds and worlds, with steady wing
 Now on the polar winds, then with quick fan
 Winnows the buxom air; till within soar 270
 Of tow'ring eagles, to' all the fowls he seems
 A Phoenix, gaz'd by all, as that sole bird,
 When to inshrine his reliques in the sun's

Bright

crown'd with cedars which were higher than the highest hills.

261. — *As when by night the glass &c.*] The Angel from Heaven gate viewing the earth is compared to an astronomer observing the moon thro' a telescope, or to a pilot at sea discovering an island at a distance. *As when by night the glass of Galileo*, the telescope first used in celestial observations by Galileo a native of Florence, *less assur'd* than the Angel, as was likewise the pilot, *observes*, a poetical expression, the instrument put for the person who makes use of it, *imagin'd lands and regions in the moon*, it is not only imagin'd that there are lands and regions in the moon, but astronomers give

names to them: *Or pilot, from amidst the Cyclades*, a parcel of islands in the Archipelago, *Delos or Samos first appearing*, two of the largest of these islands and therefore first appearing, *kens a cloudy spot*, for islands seem to be such at their first appearance. But the Angel sees with greater clearness and certainty than these; the glass is *less assur'd*, and the pilot *kens* only a cloudy spot, when the Angel sees not the whole globe only, but distinctly the mount of Paradise.

266. — *Down thither prone in flight &c.*] Virg. Æn. IV. 253.

— hinc toto præceps se corpore ad undas

Misit, avi similis.

272. *A Phoenix*,] Dr. Bentley objects

Bright temple, to Egyptian Thebes he flies.
 At once on th' eastern cliff of Paradise 275
 He lights, and to his proper shape returns
 A Seraph wing'd; six wings he wore, to shade
 His lineaments divine; the pair that clad
 Each shoulder broad, came mantling o'er his breast
 With

jects to Raphael's taking *the shape of a Phoenix*, and the objection would be very just if Milton had said any such thing: but he only says that *to all the fowls he seems a Phoenix*; he was not really a Phoenix, the birds only fancied him one. This bird was famous among the Ancients, but generally looked upon by the Moderns as fabulous. The naturalists speak of it as single,

See Plin. Nat. Hist. L. 10. c. 2.
 Ovid. Met. XV. and Claudian de Phœnice. Armida in Tasso is in like manner compared to a Phoenix, Cant. 17. St. 35.

Come all' hor, che'l rinato unico
 augello, &c.

As when the new-born Phoenix
 doth begin
 To fly to Ethiope-ward, at the fair

k V. PARADISE LOST.

373.

th regal ornament; the middle pair 280
 t like a starry zone his waste, and round
 ted his loins and thighs with downy gold
 l colors dipt in Heav'n; the third his feet
 dow'd from either heel with feather'd mail,
 -tinctur'd grain. Like Maia's son he stood, 285
 And

hat Milton makes Raphael
the shape of a Phoenix. But by
ing to his proper shape Milton
 s only that he stood on his
 and gather'd up his six wings
 her proper place and situation.

Pearce.

another ingenious person ex-
 s it, He seem'd again what he
 was, a Seraph wing'd; where-
 his flight he appear'd what he
 ot, a Phoenix.

7. — *six wings he wore, &c.]*
 Seraphim seen by Isaiah, VI.
 d the same number of wings,
 : *it stood the Seraphims, each one*
x wings: but there the wings
 sposed differently.

† — *with feather'd mail,*
-tinctur'd grain.] Feathers lie
 ort of another resembling the
 of metal of which coats of
 are compos'd. Sky-color'd,
 in grain, to express beauty
 urableness. *Richardson.*

;- — *Like Maia's son he stood, &c.]*
 ael's descent to the earth, with
 ure of his person, is repre-
 in very lively colors. See
 of the French, Italian and
 h poets have given a loose to
 imaginations in the descrip-

tion of Angels: But I do not re-
 member to have met with any so
 finely drawn, and so conformable
 to the notions which are given of
 them in Scripture, as this in Mil-
 ton. After having set him forth
 in all his heavenly plumage, and
 represented him as alighting upon
 the earth, the poet concludes his
 description with a circumstance,
 which is altogether new, and ima-
 gin'd with the greatest strength of
 fancy.

— Like Maia's son he stood,
 And shook his plumes, that heav'n-
 ly fragrance fill'd
 The circuit wide. *Addison.*

The comparing of the Angel to
Maia's son, to Mercury, shows
 evidently that the poet had parti-
 cularly in view those sublime pas-
 sages of Homer and Virgil, which
 describe the flight and descent of
 Mercury to the earth. That of Ho-
 mer is in the Iliad. XXIV. 339.

Ὡς ἔφατ' ἂν ἀπὸ θεοῦ διακίρηθ' Ἄργεφρονος·
 αὐτίκ' ἔπειδ' ὕπερ ἄσπερον ἔδυσσε-
 το καλὰ πεδίλα,

Δμ.

And shook his plumes, that heav'nly fragrance fill'd
 The circuit wide. Strait knew him all the bands
 Of Angels under watch; and to his state,
 And to his message high in honor rise; 289
 For on some message high they guess'd him bound.
 Their glittering tents he pass'd, and now is come

Into

Ἀμβροσία, χρυσεα, τὰ μιν φέ-
 ρει ἡμεν ἐφ' ὕψην,

Ἡδ' ἐπ' ἀπειρονα γάλα, ἀμὰ
 πνοῆς ἀνεμοιοῖο.

Ἐίλετο δ' ἠελδον, τῆ τ' ἀνδρῶν
 ὀμματα θελγει.

Ὦν εἴβει, τὸς δ' αὐτὲ καὶ ὕπνω-
 σίλας ἐχειρεῖ.

The God obeys, his golden pi-

Seu terram, rapido pariter cum
 flamme portant.

Tum virgam capit: hęc animas
 ille evocat Orco

Pallentes, alias sub tristia Tartara
 mittit;

Dat fomnos adimitque et lumina
 morte resignat.

Hermes obeys; with golden pi-

Into the blissful field, through groves of myrrh,
 And flow'ring odors, cassia, nard, and balm;
 A wilderness of sweets; for Nature here
 Wanton'd as in her prime, and play'd at will 295
 Her virgin fancies, pouring forth more sweet,
 Wild above rule or art; enormous bliss.

Him

the copy or the original, yet I believe every reader will easily determine that Milton's description is better than both. The reader may likewise, if he pleases, compare this descent of Raphael with that of Gabriel in Tasso, Cant. 1. St. 13, 14, 15. But (as Dr. Pearce observes) it is the graceful posture in standing after alighting that is particularly compar'd to Mercury;

Hic paribus primum nitens Cylle-
 nius alis

Constitit, Æn. IV. 253.

It is probable that the idea was first taken from the graceful attitudes of the antique statues of Mercury: but our author might have it more immediately from Shakespear's Hamlet, Act III.

A station, like the herald Mercury
 New-lighted on a Heaven-kissing
 hill:

as the image of the Angel's shaking his fragrant plumes is borrow'd particularly from Fairfax's Tasso,

On Lebanon at first his foot he set,
 And shook his wings with roary
 May-dews wet.

288. — and to his state,
 And to his message high in honor
 rise;] With the same respect
 as the Muses pay to Gallus in Vir-
 gil, Ecl. VI. 66.

Utque viro Phœbi chorus affur-
 rexerit omnis.

296. — pouring forth more sweets,
 Wild above rule or art; enormous
 bliss.] So the two first edi-

tions point this passage: Dr. Bentley puts no stop after *art*; for want of which he has fallen into a considerable mistake: instead of *pouring forth more sweets*, he would have us read *pouring forth profuse*. He says *more sweets* than what? nothing: for the comparison is dropt. But the sense is, pouring forth what was the more sweet for being wild and above rule or art.

Pearce.

Or should there not be a comma only after *art*? and is not *enormous bliss* the accusative case after *pouring forth*? which bliss was the *more sweets*, as it was *wild above rule or art*.

298. Him

Him through the spicy forest onward come
Adam discern'd, as in the door he sat
Of his cool bow'r, while now the mounted sun 300
Shot down direct his fervid rays to warm
Earth's inmost womb, more warmth than Adam needs:
And Eve within, due at her hour prepar'd
For dinner savory fruits, of taste to please
True appetite, and not displeas'd thirst 305
Of nect'rous draughts between, from milky stream,
Berry or grape: to whom thus Adam call'd.

Haste hither Eve, and worth thy sight behold
Eastward among those trees, what glorious shape
Comes this way moving: seems another morn 310

To us perhaps he brings, and will vouchsafe
 This day to be our guest. But go with speed,
 And what thy stores contain, bring forth, and pour
 Abundance, fit to honor and receive 315

Our heav'nly stranger: well we may afford
 Our givers their own gifts, and large bestow
 From large bestow'd, where Nature multiplies
 Her fertile growth, and by disburd'ning grows
 More fruitful, which instructs us not to spare. 320

To whom thus Eve. Adam, earth's hallow'd mold,
 Of God inspir'd, small store will serve, where store,
 All seasons, ripe for use hangs on the stalk;
 Save what by frugal storing firmness gains
 To nourish, and superfluous moist consumes: 325
 But

Must or new wine, so we spell it
 after the Latin *mustum*, and not
mouſt as it is in our author's own
 editions.

310. — *seems another morn*]
 The nominative case is here un-
 derstood, the *glorious shape* before
 mention'd.

310. — *seems another morn*
Ris'n on mid-noon;] An expression
 probably borrow'd from these two
 lines in Marino's *Adonis*, upon a
 sudden appearance of a glory much
 of the same kind. C. 11. St. 27.

VOL. I.

E cuo un lastro lampeggiar' d'in-
torno

Che sole à sole aggiunſe, e giorno à
giorno. Thyer.

325. — *and superfluous moist con-*
sumes:] This is rather too
 philosophical for the female cha-
 racter of Eve: and in my opinion
 one of Milton's greatest faults is his
 introducing inconsistencies in the
 characters both of Angels and Man
 by mixing too much with them
 his own philosophical notions.

Thyer.

K k

326. — *and*

But I will haste, and from each bough and brake,
Each plant and juciest gourd, will pluck such choice
To entertain our Angel guest, as he
Beholding shall confess, that here on Earth
God hath dispens'd his bounties as in Heaven. 330

So saying, with dispatchful looks in haste
She turns, on hospitable thoughts intent
What choice to choose for delicacy best,
What order, so contriv'd as not to mix
Tastes, not well join'd, inelegant, but bring 335
Taste after taste upheld with kindliest change;

Bestirs

irs her then, and from each tender stalk
 at ever Earth all-bearing mother yields
 ndia East or West, or middle shore
 'ontus or the Punic coast, or where 340
 nous reign'd, fruit of all kinds, in coat
 gh or smooth rin'd, or bearded husk, or shell,
 gathers, tribute large, and on the board
 ps with unsparing hand; for drink the grape
 crushes, inoffensive must, and meaths 345
 n many a berry', and from sweet kernels press'd
 tempers dulcet creams, nor these to hold

Wants

1 Virgil, *Æn.* XII. 680.
 hunc, oro, sine me *furere ante*
irerem :
 any more instances might be

1. *Whatever Earth all-bearing*
mother] So the Greeks call
αμυγγορ γη, and the Latins
arvus — *terræ omniparen-*
imnum, Virg. *Æn.* VI. 595.
 attered all manner of fruits
 the earth at that time af-
 l, or has since produced in
 blest and best cultivated gar-

1. — *or middle shore &c.*] *at*
 the borders of the Medi-
 can; in *Pontus*, part of Asia,
Punic coast, part of Africa,
ire Alcinous reign'd, in a Gre-

cian island in the Ionian sea (now
 the gulf of Venice) anciently call'd
Phœacia, then *Corcyra*, now *Cor-*
fu, under the dominion of the Ve-
 netians. The soil is fruitful in oil,
 wine, and most excellent fruits,
 and its owner is made famous for
 his gardens celebrated by Homer.

Hume.

344. — *for drink the grape*
She crushes, inoffensive must,] By
 the word *inoffensive* Milton intends
 to hint at the later invention of
 fermenting the juce of the grape,
 and thereby giving it an intoxicat-
 ing quality. This he would say
 was not the wine of Paradise.

Thyer.

345. — *and meaths*] Sweet
 drinks like meads. A word used
 by Chaucer, and perhaps deriv'd
 from *meθv*.

K k 2

348. — *hor*

Wants her fit vessels pure, then strows the ground
With rose and odors from the shrub unfum'd.

Mean while our primitive great sire, to meet 350
His God-like guest, walks forth, without more train
Accompanied than with his own complete
Perfections; in himself was all his state,
More solemn than the tedious pomp that waits
On princes, when their rich retinue long 355
Of horses led, and grooms besmear'd with gold,
Dazles the croud, and sets them all agape.
Nearer his presence Adam though not aw'd,
Yet with submissive approach and reverence meek,

As to' a superior nature, bowing low, 360
 Thus said. Native of Heav'n, for other place
 None can than Heav'n such glorious shape contain;
 Since by descending from the thrones above,
 Those happy places thou hast deign'd a while
 To want, and honor these, vouchsafe with us 365
 Two' only, who yet by sovran gift possess
 This spacious ground, in yonder shady bower
 To rest, and what the garden choicest bears
 To fit and taste, till this meridian heat
 Be over, and the sun more cool decline, 370
 Whom thus th' angelic Virtue answer'd mild.

Adam,

Turbaque miratur matrum, et as he is fitting: See my note on
 prospectat euntem, II. 917. *Pearce.*
 Attonitis inbianis animis.

361. — *Native of Heav'n, for other place*
None can than Heav'n such glorious shape contain;] Milton in the turn of these words very plainly alludes to what Æneas says to Venus in the first Æneid ver. 327.

O, quam te memorem, Virgo?
 namque haud tibi vultus
 Mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat;
 O Dea certe. *Thyer.*

368. — *what the garden choicest bears*
To fit and taste,] That is, to taste

371. — *th' angelic Virtue]* The Angel: thus Homer uses Πειραμοιο βινυ the strength of Priam for Priam himself, Iliad. III. 105. and Εκτορ for Hector, Iliad. XIV. 418.

Αυταρ επει του' ακυο' ιερον μεν
 Αλκίνοιο. Odyss. VII. 167.

After the sacred strength of Alcinous heard that.

Imitated twice by the cautious Virgil, *Odora canum vis* for dogs, Æn. IV. 132. *Vinque Deum infernam* the infernal Deities, Æn. XII. 149.

Hume.

... have at will. So to the
They came, that like Po
With flow'rets deck'd and
Undeck'd save with herse
Than Wood-Nymph, or
Of three that in mount I
Stood to' entertain her gue
She needed, virtue-proof;
Alter'd her cheek. On wh

378. — *Pomona's arbor*] The
Goddess of fruit-trees might well
be supposed to have a delightful
arbor, but that could not be more
delightful in imagination, than this
was in reality. See Ovid. *Met.*
XIV. 623. &c.

380. *Undeck'd save with herself,*
This is *simplex munditiis* indeed,
beyond Horace's and make

ow'd, the holy salutation us'd
 g after to blest Mary, second Eve.
 hail Mother of Mankind, whose fruitful womb
 I fill the world more numerous with thy sons,
 n with these various fruits the trees of God 390
 e heap'd this table. Rais'd of grassy turf
 ir table was, and mossy seats had round,
 on her ample square from side to side
 autumn pil'd, though spring and autumn here
 c'd hand in hand. A while discourse they hold;
 fear left dinner cool; when thus began 396
 author. Heav'nly stranger, please to taste
 se bounties, which our Nourisher, from whom
 perfect good, unmeasur'd out, descends,

To

[— *virtue proof*;] *Proof* is
 in the old poets for armour,
 spear, Rom. & Jul. Act I.

in strong *proof* of chastity
 vell arm'd,
 a love's weak childish bow
 he lives unharm'd.

[— *On whom the Angel
 Hail &c.*] The natural ma-
 of Adam, and at the same
 his submissive behaviour to
 perior being, who had vouch-
 to be his guest; the solemn
 which the Angel bestows up-
 e mother of mankind, with

the figure of Eve ministring at the
 table, are circumstances which de-
 serve to be admired. *Addison.*

387. — *to Mary, second Eve.*] See Luke I. 28. She is call'd *second Eve*, as Christ is sometimes called *second Adam*.

394. *All autumn pil'd.*] The table had mossy seats round it, and all autumn pil'd upon it; that is the fruits of autumn. So in Virg. Georg. II. 5.

— *pampineo gravidus autumno
 Floret ager.*

399. — *perfect*] Milton writes
 k k 4 it

Spiritual, may of purest
No' ingrateful food: and
Intelligential substances re
As doth your rational; an
Within them every lower
Of sense, whereby they he
Tasting concoct, digest, a

it *perfet* after the French *parfait* or
the Italian *perfitto*; our usual way
of spelling it is after the Latin
perfectus; and very rightly, espe-
cially as we make use likewise of
the word *perfection*. And in the
general it is better surely to derive
our language from the original La-
tin, than to make it only the copy
of a copy.

407. No' ingrateful food:] There
being mention made in Scripture
of *Angels food*, Pſal. LXXVIII. 25.

Sups with the ocean. Though in Heav'n the trees
 Of life ambrosial fruitage bear, and vines
 Yield nectar; though from off the boughs each morn
 We brush mellifluous dews, and find the ground
 Cover'd with pearly grain: yet God hath here 430
 Varied his bounty so with new delights,
 As may compare with Heaven; and to taste
 Think not I shall be nice. So down they sat,
 And to their viands fell; nor seemingly
 The Angel, nor in mist, the common glofs 435

Of

Nec nulla interea est inaratae gra- cient Doctors were of opinion,
 tia terra. that the Angels did not really eat,

Of Theologians; but with keen dispatch
 Of real hunger, and concoctive heat
 To transubstantiate: what redounds, transpires
 Through Spi'rits with ease; nor wonder; if by fire
 Of footy coal th' empiric alchemist 440
 Can turn, or holds it possible to turn,
 Metals of drossiest ore to perfect gold
 As from the mine. Mean while at table Eve
 Minister'd naked, and their flowing cups
 With pleasant liquors crown'd: O innocence 445
 Deserving

logians; this same word he uses in his *Tetrachordon*, p. 223. Vol. 1. Edit. 1738.

438. — *what redounds, transpires &c.*] This artfully avoids the indecent idea, which would else have been apt to have arisen on the Angels feeding, and which gives a delicacy to these Spirits, which finely distinguishes them from us in one of the most humbling circumstances relating to our bodies.

Richardson.

439. — *nor wonder; if by fire &c.*] Nor is it a wonder, that the Angels have *concoctive heat* in their stomachs sufficient to *transubstantiate*, to turn their food and nourishment into their own substance, to *assimilate* as it was said before, and *turn corporal to incorporeal*; if by fire the alchemist can turn or thinks to turn all metals to gold. *The empiric alchemist*, is one who makes

bold trials and experiments (*εμπειρικὸν* in Greek from *πειράω* a trial or experiment) without much skill and knowledge in the art, like a quack in physick. And they must be strange *empirics* indeed, who can hope to find out the philosopher's stone, and *turn metals of drossiest ore to perfect gold*. But it is not strange that our author so frequently alludes to alchemy (as he does in II. 517. III. 609. as well as here) when Johnson has written a whole comedy upon it.

445. *With pleasant liquors crown'd:*] *To crown their cups* was a phrase among the Greeks and Romans for filling them above the brim, but yet not so as to run over. Thus it is used by Homer, *Iliad*. I. 470.

Κύπερ' ἄνω κρητῆρας ἑστῆσαντο
 ὄρωτοιο.

and

Deserving Paradise! if ever, then,
Then had the sons of God excuse to' have been
Enamour'd at that sight; but in those hearts
Love unlibidinous reign'd, nor jealousy
Was understood, the injur'd lover's Hell. 450

Thus when with meats and drinks they had suffic'd,
Not burden'd nature, sudden mind arose
In Adam, not to let th' occasion pass
Giv'n him by this great conference to know
Of things above his world, and of their being 455
Who dwell in Heav'n, whose excellence he saw
Transcend his own so far, whose radiant forms

Divine

vine effulgence, whose high pow'r so far
 exceeded human, and his wary speech
 thus to th' empyreal minister he fram'd. 460
 Inhabitant with God, now know I well
 thy favor, in this honor done to Man,
 under whose lowly roof thou hast vouchsaf'd
 to enter, and these earthly fruits to taste,
 though not of Angels, yet accepted so, 465
 that more willingly thou couldst not seem
 these Heav'n's high feasts to have fed: yet what compare?
 To whom the winged Hierarch reply'd.
 Adam, one Almighty is, from whom

All

he reading in Milton's own edi-
 tion, and not *above this world* as
 Fenton and Dr. Bentley have
 said it to be printed.

456. — *whose excellence &c.*]
excellence is a general word; and
 branches the *excellence* of An-
 gels into two particulars, their *ra-
 zed forms* (which were the efful-
 gence of the Deity) and their *high
 power*. Pearce.

467. — *yet what compare?*]
his speech was wary; and he was
 said to ask the Angel directly of
 these different conditions of Men and
 Angels; but yet intimates his de-
 sire to know by questioning whe-
 ther there was any comparison be-
 tween them.

468. *To whom the winged Hierarch
 reply'd.*] Raphael's beha-
 viour is every way suitable to the
 dignity of his nature, and to that
 character of a sociable Spirit, with
 which the author has so judiciously
 introduced him. He had received
 instructions to converse with Adam,
 as one friend converses with ano-
 ther, and to warn him of the ene-
 my who was contriving his de-
 struction: accordingly he is repre-
 sented as sitting down at table with
 Adam, and eating of the fruits of
 Paradise. The occasion naturally
 leads him to his discourse on the
 food of Angels. After having thus
 enter'd into conversation with Man
 upon more indifferent subjects, he
 warns him of his obedience, and
 makes

But more refin'd, more if
As nearer to him plac'd or
Each in their several activ
Till body up to spirit wor
Proportion'd to each kind.
Springs lighter the green sta
More acry, last the bright
Spirits odorous breathes: fl
Man's nourishment, by gra

makes a natural transition to the
history of that fallen Angel, who
was employ'd in the circumvention
of our first parents. Addison.

471. — created all
Such to perfection, one first matter
all, &c.] That is, created
all good, good to perfection, not ab-
solutely so, but perfect in their dif-
ferent kinds and degrees: and all

To vital spi'rits aspire, to animal,
 To intellectual; give both life and sense, 485
 Fancy and understanding; whence the soul
 Reason receives, and reason is her being,
 Discursive, or intuitive; discourse
 Is ofttest yours, the latter most is ours,
 Differing but in degree, of kind the same. 490
 Wonder not then, what God for you saw good
 If I refuse not, but convert, as you,
 To proper substance: time may come, when Men
 With Angels may participate, and find
 No inconvenient di'et, nor too light fare; 495
 And from these corporal nutriments perhaps
 Your bodies may at last turn all to spirit,

Improv'd

bating his own false notions in philosophy to an Arch-Angel he has really lessen'd the character, which he intended to raise. He is as much mistaken here in his metaphysics, as he was before in his physics. This notion of matter refining into spirit is by no means observing the bounds proportion'd to each kind. I suppose, he meant it as a comment on the doctrine of a natural body changed into a spiritual body, as in 1 Cor. XV. and perhaps borrow'd it from some of his systems of divinity. For Milton, as he was so much of a materialist in his

philosophy, so was too much of a systematist in his divinity.

482. *Spirits odorous*] We must take notice in reading this verse, that *Spirits* is here a word of two syllables, tho' it is often contracted into *one* or pronounc'd as two short ones, and particularly in the second line after this

To vital spi'rits aspire;

and the second syllable in *odorous* is to be pronounced long, tho' the poet makes it short in other places, IV. 166.

Improv'd by tract of time, and wing'd ascend
Ethereal, as we, or may at choice
Here or in heav'nly Paradises dwell; 500
If ye be found obedient, and retain
Unalterably firm his love entire,
Whose progeny you are. Mean while enjoy
Your fill what happiness this happy state
Can comprehend, incapable of more. 505

To whom the patriarch of mankind reply'd.
O favorable Spi'rit, propitious guest,
Well hast thou taught the way that might direct
Our knowledge, and the scale of nature set
From center to circumference. whereon

In contemplation of created things
 By steps we may ascend to God. But say,
 What meant that caution join'd, If ye be found
 Obedient? can we want obedience then
 To him, or possibly his love desert, 515
 Who form'd us from the dust, and plac'd us here
 Full to the utmost measure of what bliss
 Human desires can seek or apprehend?

To whom the Angel. Son of Heav'n and Earth,
 Attend: That thou art happy, owe to God; 520
 That thou continuest such, owe to thyself,
 That is, to thy obedience; therein stand.
 This was that caution giv'n thee; be advis'd.

God

the whole circumference of what mankind can see or comprehend. The metaphor is bold and vastly expressive. *Matter, one first matter is this center; nature infinitely diversify'd is the scale which reaches to the utmost of our conceptions, all round. We are thus led to God; whose circumference who can tell? Uncircumscrib'd he fills infinitude, VII. 170. Richardson.*

512. *By steps we may ascend to God.*] There is a real visible ladder (besides that visionary one of Jacob) whose foot, tho' placed on the earth among the lowest of the creation, yet leads us by steps in contemplation of created things up to God the in-

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visible creator of all things. *Hume.* Milton here very clearly alludes to the Platonic philosophy of rising gradually from the consideration of particular created beauty to that which is universal and uncreated.

Tbysr.

520. *Attend: &c.*] The sentences here are very short, as every thing ought to be in the preceptive way. *Quicquid præcipies, esto brevis,* is the rule of Horace, *De Arte Poet.* 335. And this brevity in the preceptive, as it is agreeable to Horace's rule, so likewise to his practice, as particularly in that string of precepts, *Epiſt. I. II. 55. Sperne voluptates, &c.*

L 1

546. — *shan*

Not our necessitated; sue
Finds no acceptance, nor
Can hearts, not free, be
Willing or no, who will
By destiny, and can no o
Myself and all th' angelic
In fight of God enthron'd
Hold, as you yours, while
On other surety none; fre
Because we freely love, as

546. —*iban wben*
Cherubic songs &c.] Adam had
mention'd these nightly songs of
the Angels with pleasure in IV.
680 &c. But still he prefers the
conversation of the Angel. and

Book V. PARADISE LOST. 395

To love or not; in this we stand or fall: 540

And some are fall'n, to disobedience fall'n,

And so from Heav'n to deepest Hell; O fall

From what high state of blis into what woe!

To whom our great progenitor. Thy words
Attentive, and with more delighted ear, 545

Divine instructor, I have heard, than when

Cherubic songs by night from neighb'ring hills

Aereal music send: nor knew I not

To be both will and deed created free;

Yet that we never shall forget to love 550

Our Maker, and obey him whose command

Single is yet so just, my constant thoughts

Affur'd me', and still assure: though what thou tell'st

Hath past in Heav'n, some doubt within me move,

But more desire to hear, if thou consent, 555

The

of much in the same manner in
IV. 419.

— He who requires
From us no other service than to
keep

This one, this easy charge.

And again, ver. 432.

— Then let us not think hard

One easy prohibition, who en-
joy
Free leave so large to all things
else.

And this command tho' *single*, and
therefore on that account to be
obey'd, *is yet so just*, that it lays a
further obligation upon our obe-
dience.

... quæm made req
After short pause assenting
High matter thou injoin
Sad task and hard; for he
To human sense th'invist
Of warring Spirits? how
The ruin of so many glori

557. *Worthy of sacred silence to be
heard;*] Worthy of religious
silence, such as was requir'd at the
sacrifices and other religious cere-
monies of the Ancients; alluding
to that of Horace, Od. II. XIII.
29, 30.

*Utrumque sacro digna silentio
Mirantur umbræ dicere.*

Richardson.

563. *High matter thou injoin'st me',
O prime of men,
Sad task and hard; &c.]* It is cu-

And perfect while they stood? how last unfold
 The secrets of another world, perhaps
 Not lawful to reveal? yet for thy good 570
 This is dispens'd; and what surmounts the reach
 Of human sense, I shall delineate so,
 By likening spiritual to corporal forms,
 As may express them best; though what if Earth
 Be but the shadow' of Heav'n, and things therein 575
 Each to' other like, more than on earth is thought?

As yet this world was not, and Chaos wild
 Reign'd where these Heav'ns now roll, where Earth
 now rests

Upon

things in Heaven and things in Earth than is generally imagin'd, which is suggested very artfully, as it is indeed the best apology that could be made for those bold figures, which Milton has employ'd, and especially in his description of the battels of the Angels.

577. *As yet this world was not, &c.*] Had I follow'd Monsieur Bossu's method, I should have dated the action of Paradise Lost from the beginning of Raphael's speech in this book, as he supposes the action of the *Æneid* to begin in the second book of that poem. I could allege many reasons for my drawing the action of the *Æneid* rather from its immediate beginning in the first book, than

from its remote beginning in the second; and show why I have consider'd the sacking of Troy as an *episode*, according to the common acceptation of that word. But as this would be a dry unentertaining piece of criticism, I shall not enlarge upon it. Which ever of the notions be true, the unity of Milton's action is preserved according to either of them; whether we consider the fall of Man in its immediate beginning, as proceeding from the resolutions taken in the infernal council, or in its more remote beginning, as proceeding from the first revolt of the Angels in Heaven. The occasion which Milton assigns for this revolt, as it is founded on hints in holy Writ, and

Upon her center pois'd; when on a day
(For time, though in eternity, apply'd 580
To motion, measures all things durable
By present, past, and future) on such day
As Heav'n's great year brings forth, th'empyrean host
Of Angels by imperial summons call'd,
Innumerable before th' Almighty's throne 585
Forthwith from all the ends of Heav'n appear'd
Under their Hierarchs in orders bright:
Ten thousand thousand ensigns high advanc'd,
Standards and gonfalons 'twixt van and rear
Stream in the air, and for distinction serve 590
Of

Of hierarchies, of orders, and degrees ;
 Or in their glittering tissues bear emblaz'd
 Holy memorials, acts of zeal and love
 Recorded eminent. Thus when in orbs
 Of circuit inexpressible they stood, 595
 Orb within orb, the Father infinite,
 By whom in bliss imbosom'd sat the Son,
 Amidst as from a flaming mount, whose top
 Brightness had made invisible, thus spake.

Hear all ye Angels, progeny of light, 600
 Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,
 Hear my decree, which unrevok'd shall stand.

This

when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord. And again, 1 Kings XXII, 19. I saw the Lord sitting on his throne, and all the host of Heaven standing by him on his right hand and on his left, which was enough to furnish the hint to Milton.

589. *Standards and gonfalons*] A gonfalon is some kind of streamer or banner, but of what particular sort authors do not seem to be at all agreed, and neither is it very material to know.

598. *Amidst as from a flaming mount, &c.*] This idea seems to be taken from the divine presence in the mount, Exod. XIX. when God gave his commandments to the children of Israel, as here he is

giving his great command concerning the Messiah in Heaven.

598. — *whose top Brightness had made invisible,*] The same just and yet bold thought with that in III. 380.

Dark with excessive bright thy skirts appear.
 See the note on that verse. *Thyer.*

602. *Hear my decree, &c.*] We observed before that Milton was very cautious what sentiments and language he ascribed to the Almighty, and generally confin'd himself to the phrases and expressions of Scripture; and in this particular speech the reader will easily remark how much of it is copy'd from holy Writ by comparing it

This day I have begot whom I declare
My only Son, and on this holy hill
Him have anointed, whom ye now behold 605
At my right hand; your head I him appoint;
And by myself have sworn to him shall bow
All knees in Heav'n, and shall confess him Lord:
Under his great vice-gerent reign abide
United as one individual soul 610
For ever happy; Him who disobey,
Me disobey, breaks union, and that day
Cast out from God and blessed vision, falls
Into' utter darkness, deep ingulf'd, his place
Ordain'd without redemption, without end. 615

'hat day, as other solemn days, they spent
 a song and dance about the sacred hill;
 Mystical dance, which yonder starry sphere 620
 Of planets and of fix'd in all her wheels
 Resembles nearest, mazes intricate,
 Eccentric, intervolv'd, yet regular
 When most, when most irregular they seem;
 And in their motions harmony divine 625
 Smooths her charming tones, that God's own ear
 Listens delighted. Evening now approach'd
 For we have also' our evening and our morn,
 We ours for change delectable, not need)
 Orthwith from dance to sweet repast they turn 630
 Desirous; all in circles as they stood,
 Tables are set, and on a sudden pil'd

With

Since he errs not, who doth them
 Guide and move.

Fairfax's Tasso, Cant. 9. St. 6.

tra tum ea quæ sunt infixæ certis
 is, tum illa non re sed vocabulo
 antia, &c. Cicero Tusc. Disp.
 25. And in their motions such
 ine perfection appears, and their
 monious proportion so tunes her
 urning notes, that God himself
 as'd and delighted, pronounced
 in good, Gen. I. 18. There is a

text in Job XXXVIII. 37. that
 seems to favor the opinion of the
 Pythagoreans, concerning the mu-
 sical motion of the spheres, though
 our translation differs therein from
 other versions. *Concentum cæli quis
 dormire faciet?* Who shall lay
 asleep, or still the consort of the
 Heaven? But this is to be un-
 derstood metaphorically, of the
 wonderful proportions observed by
 the heavenly bodies in their various
 motions. *Hume.*

Of surfeit where full the
Excess, before th' all-bou
With copious hand, reje
Now when ambrosial nix

633. — *rubied nectar*] Nectar
of the color of rubies; a transla
tion of Homer's νεκταρ ερυθρον
Iliad. XIX. 38.

— αμβροσινη και νεκταρ ερυθρον.

and Odyss. V. 93.

— παρεθηκε τροπιζαν
Αμβροσινη πλησασα, κερσασε δε
νεκταρ ερυθρον.

634. *In pearl, &c.*] This feast of
the Angels is much richer than the
banquet of the Gods in Homer's
Iliad, IV. 3. Homer's Gods drink
nectar in golden cups χρυσειοις δε
ποτασι; but here the nectar is
diamond, and m

From that high mount of God, whence light and shade
 bring both, the face of brightest Heav'n had chang'd
 to grateful twilight (for night comes not there 645
 a darker veil) and roseat dew's dispos'd
 All but th' unsleeping eyes of God to rest;
 Vide over all the plain, and wider far
 'han all this globous earth in plain outspread,
 Such are the courts of God) th' angelic throng, 650
 dispers'd in bands and files, their camp extend
 by living streams among the trees of life,

Pavilions

see, and in thy light shall we see
 light. If these verses were left out,
 ten (as Dr. Pearce rightly observes)
 the words in ver. 641. which re-
 present God as *rejoicing in their joy*,
 would refer to something that is
 so where to be found; and there-
 fore Milton (he supposes) inserted
 these verses in the second edition,
 that the joy of the Angels might be
 express'd. *Secure of surpris*, are in
 no danger of it, are not liable to
 it, as men are. *Where full measure*
only bounds excess, full measure is
 the only thing that stints and limits
 them; the utmost they are capable
 of containing is the only bound set
 to them; they have full measure,
 but they cannot be too full, they
 cannot overflow; *without o'erflowing*
full.

641. — *rejoicing in their joy.*]
 What an idea of the divine good-
 ness, whose perfect happiness seems

to receive an addition from that of
 his creatures! *Richardson*.

642. — *ambrosial night*] So
 Homer calls the night *ambrosial*,
 Αὐροροῖν δ' ἴα νύκτα, Iliad. II. 57.
 and sleep for the same reason *am-*
brofial, ver. 19. because it refreshes
 and strengthens as much as food,
 as much as ambrosia.

646. *In darker veil*] Milton spells
 this word differently, sometimes
veil, sometimes *veil*; but *veil* is
 right from the Latin *voluum*.

647. *All but th' unsleeping eyes of*
God to rest;] So the Psalmist,
 Psal. CXXI. 4. *He that keepeth Israel*
shall neither slumber nor sleep. The
 author had likewise Homer in
 mind, Iliad. II. 1.

Ἄλλοι μὲν πα θεῶν —
 εὐδον παννυχίαι· Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχθ
 γινδύμ' ὕπτι'.

Th' immortals

Pavilions numberless, and sudden rear'd,
Celestial tabernacles, where they slept
Fann'd with cool winds; save those who in their course
Melodious hymns about the sovran throne
Alternate all night long: but not so wak'd
Satan; so call him now, his former name
Is heard no more in Heav'n; he of the first,
If not the first Arch-Angel, great in power,
In favor and præeminence, yet fraught
With envy' against the Son of God, that day
Honor'd by his great Father, and proclam'd
Messiah King anointed, could not bear
Through pride that sight, and thought himself oppos'd

Book V. PARADISE LOST. 405

Friendliest to sleep and silence, he resolv'd
 With all his legions to dislodge, and leave
 Unworshipt, unbey'd the throne supreme 670
 Contemptuous, and his next subordinate
 Awak'ning, thus to him in secret spake.

Sleep'st thou, Companion dear, what sleep can close
 Thy eye-lids? and remember'st what decree
 Of yesterday, so late hath pass'd the lips 675
 Of Heav'n's Almighty. Thou to me thy thoughts
 Wast wont, I mine to thee was wont to impart;
 Both waking we were one; how then can now
 Thy sleep dissent? New laws thou seest impos'd;
 New laws from him who reigns, new minds may raise
 In us who serve, new counsels, to debate 681
 What doubtful may ensue: more in this place

To

673. *Sleep'st thou, Companion dear, what sleep can close thy eye-lids? and remember'st what decree &c.*] We have printed the passage with Milton's own punctuation. *Sleep'st thou, Companion dear, Εὐδ'εῖς Ἀτρῆος υἱεῖ;* Iliad. II. 23. *What sleep can close thy eye-lids? and remember'st &c.* that is *when thou remember'st &c.*

— potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos?

Virg. Æn. IV. 560.

It is just the same manner of speaking as in II. 730.

— what fury, O Son,
 Possesses thee to bend that mortal
 dart

Against thy Father's head? and
 know'st for whom;

at the same time that thou know'st for whom.

682. — *more in this place*

To utter is not safe.] This is a verse, but I believe the reader will agree, that it could not have had so

so good an effect, had it been
entire verse by itself, as it has now
it is broken and made part of two
verses.

684. *Of all those myriads which
we lead the chief;*] Dr. Bentley
reads *the chiefs*: but Milton
speaks after the same manner
here, in II. 469. *Others among
chief &c.* And in both places *the
chief* signifies the same as *the chief*,
only this is a substantive, and that
is an adjective, agreeing with the
word *Angels* understood in the con-
struction. Pearce.

685. *Tell them that by command
&c.*] He begins his revolt with
lie. So well doth Milton preserve
the character given of him in Scrip-
ture. John VIII. 44. *The Devil is
a liar, and the father of lies.*

689. *The quarters of the north;*
See Sannazarius De partu Virginis
III. 40.

Vos, quum omne arderet cœlum

The quarters of the north; there to prepare

Fit entertainment to receive our king

690

The great Messiah, and his new commands,

Who speedily through all the hierarchies

Intends to pass triumphant, and give laws.

So spake the false Arch-Angel, and infus'd

Bad

north, Jer. VI. 1. St. Austin says that the Devil and his Angels, being averſe from the light and fervor of charity, grew torpid as it were with an icy hardneſs; and are therefore by a figure placed in the north. *Diabolus igitur et Angeli ejus a luce atque fervore caritatis averſi, et nimis in ſuperbiam invidiamque progreſſi, velut glaciali duritia torpuerunt. Et ideo per figuram tanquam in aquilone ponuntur.* Epiſt. 140. Sect. 55. And Shakeſpear in like manner calls Satan *the monarch of the north*, 1 Henry VI. Act. V.

And ye choice Spirits, that admoniſh me,

And give me ſigns of future accidents,

You ſpeedy helpers, that are ſubſtitutes

Under the lordly *monarch of the north*.

I have ſeen too a Latin poem by Odoricus Valmarana, printed at Vienna in 1627, and intitled *Demomachia ſive De Bello Intelligentiarum ſuper Divini Verbi incarnatione*.

sione. This poem is longer than the Iliad, for it conſiſts of five and twenty books; but it equals the Iliad in nothing but in length, for the poetry is very indifferent. However in ſome particulars the plan of this poem is very like *Paradiſe Loſt*. It opens with the exaltation of the Son of God, and thereupon Lucifer revolts, and draws a third part of the Angels after him into *the quarters of the north*.

— pars tertia lævam

Hoc duce perfequitur, gelidoque aquilone locatur.

It is more probable, that Milton had ſeen this poem than ſome others, from which he is charged with borrowing largely. He was indeed an univerſal ſcholar, and read all ſorts of authors, and took hints from the Moderns as well as the Ancients. He was a great genius, but a great genius form'd by reading; and as it was ſaid of Virgil, he collected gold out of the dung of other authors.

... new ... might had
The great hierarchal star
Tells the suggested cause
Ambiguous words and je

702. *Tells the suggested cause,*
The cause that Satan had suggest-
ed, namely to prepare entertain-
ment for their new king and receive
his laws: *and casts between ambi-*
guous words, imitated from Virg.
Æn. II. 98.

— hinc spargere voces
In vulgum ambiguas.

708. *His count'nance, as the morn-*
ing star that guides &c.] This
similitude is not so new as poetical.
Virgil in like manner compares the
beautiful young Pallas to the morn-
ing star, Æn. VIII. 589.

Qualis, ubi oceani perfusus Luci-
fer unda,
Quem Venus ante alios astrorum
diligat ignes,
Extulit os sacrum sole

Or taint integrity : but all obey'd
 The wonted signal, and superior voice 705
 Of their great potentate; for great indeed
 His name, and high was his degree in Heaven;
 His count'nance, as the morning star that guides
 The starry flock, allur'd them, and with lies
 Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's host. 710
 Mean while th' eternal eye, whose sight discerns
 Abstrusest thoughts, from forth his holy mount

And

to be Milton's meaning, yet it may be said that Satan's *countenance*, seducing his followers by disguising the foul intentions of his heart, may be very properly said to *seduce with lies*. We read in Cicero's Epistles to his brother, *frons, oculi, vultus per sepe mentiuntur*. Lib. 1. Ep. 1. c. 5. Pearce.

710. *Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's host.*] *Behold a great red dragon — and his tail drew the third part of the stars of Heaven, and did cast them to the earth.* Rev. XII. 3, 4. Dr. Bentley finds fault with this verse as very bad measure: but as a person of much better taste observes, there is a great beauty in the fall of the numbers in this line after the majesty of those before and after it, occasion'd principally by the change of the fourth foot from an iambic into a trochaic; an artifice often made use of by Milton to vary his numbers by those discords.

V O L. I.

Drew after him the third part of Heav'n's host.

711. *Mean while th' eternal eye, whose sight discerns &c.*] Dr. Bentley seems very sure that Milton's text is wrong here, because in the course of the construction it is said of *this eternal eye* that it *smiling said*, ver. 718. He would therefore persuade us that Milton gave it

Mean while th' Eternal, *He* whose sight discerns &c.

But would not *He* in this place thus following *th' Eternal* be a botch in poetry? Milton frequently takes a liberty, allowable in a poet, of expressing only some part or quality of a person, when he means the person himself, and goes on to say things which (properly speaking) are applicable only to the person himself. And Milton had good authority for doing so: in Psal. LIV. 7. *the eye is made a person, mine eye shall see his desire upon mine enemies:*

M m

enemies:

Of our omnipotence, and with what arms
 We mean to hold what anciently we clame
 Of deity or empire; such a foe
 Is rising, who intends to' erect his throne 725
 Equal to ours, throughout the spacious north;
 Nor so content, hath in his thought to try
 In battel, what our pow'r is, or our right.
 Let us advise, and to this hazard draw
 With speed what force is left, and all employ 730
In

716. *Among the sons of morn.*] The Angels are here call'd *sons of the morning*, as Lucifer is in Isa. XIV. 12. probably upon account of their early creation; or to express the angelic beauty and gladness, the morning being the most delightful season of the day. Job. XI. 17. *Thine age shall be clearer than the noon-day; thou shalt shine forth, thou shalt be as the morning.* XXXVIII. 7. *When the morning stars sang together, and the sons of God shouted for joy.* See also Cant. VI. 10. Isa. LVIII. 8. *Richardson.*

718. *And smiling*] Let not the pious reader be offended, because the supreme Being is represented as *smiling* and speaking ironically of his foes; for such figures of speech are not unusual in the Scripture itself. Immediately after the fall of Man we read, Gen. III. 22. *And the Lord God said; Behold the Man is become as one of us, to know good*

and evil. There are several instances of the like manner of speaking in the prophets. But this is particularly grounded upon Psal. II. 1. &c. *Why do the Heathen rage, and the people imagin a vain thing? — against the Lord and against his Anointed — He that sitteth in the Heavens shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in derision.* It appears that our author had this passage in view, by his making the Son allude so plainly to it in his answer.

— Mighty Father, thou thy foes justly hast in derision, and secure Laugh'st at their vain designs and tumults vain.

719. — *in whom my glory I behold in full resplendence, Heir of all my might,*] For he is the brightness of his Father's glory, and appointed heir of all things, Heb. I. 2, 3.

Laugh'ft at their vain del
Matter to me of glory, v
Illustrates, when they see
Giv'n me to quell their p
Know whether I be dextr
Thy rebels, or be found
So spake the Son; but
Far was advanc'd on wing
Innumerable as the stars o
Or stars of morning, dew.

734- *Lightning divine.*] If *light-*
ning is a participle, the adjective
divine is to be taken adverbially,
as if he had said *Lightning divinely*:
but it is rather a substantive, and
in Scripture the Angel's counte-

Book V. PARADISE LOST. 413.

Impearls on every leaf and every flower.
 Regions they pass'd, the mighty regencies
 Of Seraphim and Potentates and Thrones
 In their triple degrees; regions to which 750
 All thy dominion, Adam, is no more
 Than what this garden is to all the earth,
 And all the sea, from one entire globe
 Stretch'd into longitude; which having pass'd
 At length into the limits of the north 755
 They came, and Satan to his royal seat
 High on a hill, far blazing, as a mount
 Rais'd on a mount, with pyramids and towers
 From diamond quarries hewn, and rocks of gold;
 The palace of great Lucifer, (so call 760
 That structure in the dialect of men
 Interpreted) which not long after, he

Affecting

In battel round of squadrons *three*
 they stood,
 And all by *threes* those squadrons
 ranged were:

and by Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 1.
 Cant. 12. St. 39.

Like as it had been many an
 Angel's voice
 Singing before th' eternal Majesty,
 In their *trinal triplicities* on high.

The fancy was borrow'd from the
 Schoolmen. *Bentley.*
 Spenser has again the same notion,
 and uses the same expression in his
 Hymn of heavenly love.

There they in their *trinal triplicities*
 About him wait, and on his will
 depend.

761. — in the *dialect of men*]
 The learned reader cannot but be
 M m 3 pleased

About the great reception
Thither to come, and w
Of counterfeited truth th
Thrones, Dominations,
If these magnificent titles ye
Not merely titular, since
Another now hath to him
All pow'r, and us eclips'd

pleased with the poet's imitation
of Homer in this line. Homer
mentions persons and things, which
he tells us in the language of the
Gods are call'd by different names
from those they go by in the lan-
guage of men. Milton has imitated
him with his usual judgment in this
particular place, wherein he has
likewise the authority of Scripture
to justify him

V. PARADISE LOST.

415

ng anointed, for whom all this haste
 dnight march, and hurried meeting here,
 nly to consult how we may best
 what may be devis'd of honors new 780
 e him coming to receive from us
 tribute yet unpaid, prostration vile,
 uch to one, but double how indur'd,
 e and to his image now proclam'd?
 hat if better counsels might erect 785
 inds, and teach us to cast off this yoke?
 e submit your necks, and choose to bend
 upple knee? ye will not, if I trust
 ow ye right, or if ye know yourselves
 s and sons of Heav'n possess'd before 790

By

[Thrones, Dominations, Prin-
ces, Virtues, Powers.] The
 he word *Virtues* in this line
 explains what Milton meant
angelic Virtue in ver. 371.

thus th' angelic Virtue an-
 er'd mild.

an order of Angels distin-
 by that name. This is the
 oubtedly his meaning by
 res after, ver. 837.

d all the Spirits of Heaven
 n created in their bright de-
 ces,

Crown'd them with glory, and to
 their glory nam'd
 Thrones, Dominations, Prin-
 ces, Virtues, Powers.

Ther.

790. *Natives and sons of Heav'n*
possess'd before

By none,] Dr. Bentley's false
 pointing of this passage has led
 others to mistake the sense of it,
 as well as himself. He refers the
 word *possess'd* to *natives and sons*,
 but should it not rather be referred
 to *Heav'n* the word immediately
 preceding, there being no comma
 between them in Milton's own edi-
 tions,

... power
In freedom equal? or ca
Law and edict on us, w
Err not? much less for t

tions, as there is in Dr. Bentley's?
And is not the passage to be under-
stood thus, that *No one possess'd Hea-
ven before them*, they were a sort of
Aborigines? which notion Satan
explains more at large in his fol-
lowing speech, ver. 859.

We know no time when we were
not as now;
Know none before us, self-begot,
self-rais'd

By our own quick'ning pow'r,
when fatal course
Had circled his full orb, the birth
mature
Of this our native Heav'n, ethe-
real sons.

792. — for orders and degrees
Far not with liberty, but well
could

Book V. PARADISE LOST.

417

And look for adoration to th' abuse 800

Of those imperial titles, which assert

Our being ordain'd to govern, not to serve.

Thus far his bold discourse without controll

Had audience, when among the Seraphim

Abdiel, than whom none with more zeal ador'd 805

The Deity, and divine commands obey'd,

Stood up, and in a flame of zeal severe

The current of his fury thus oppos'd.

O

our Lord and master. Dr. Pearce says, that the sentence is elliptical, and may be supply'd thus, *much less can he for this* (viz. for our being *less in power and splendor*, ver. 796.) in right assume to be our Lord. Mr. Richardson understands it to be spoken blasphemously and with contempt of the Messiah, This another, ver. 775. This King anointed, ver. 777. And then the sense will run after this manner, *Who can then in justice assume monarchy over equals? or can introduce a law and edict upon us, who without law are infallible? much less can be introduce a law and edict for This* (I don't say what) *to be our Lord and receive adoration from us.* But then we must write *This* with a great letter, and we must not continue the note of interrogation at the end of the speech. If we should, I imagin we should be oblig'd to read *much more* instead of *much less*.

Mr. Warburton still understands it otherwise. Who can in reason assume monarchy over those who are his equals? and introduce law and edict upon them, when they can conduct their actions rightly without law? much less for this introduction of law and edict clame the right of dominion. For he thought the giving of civil laws did not introduce dominion. His head was full of the ancient legislators, who gave laws to equals and strangers, and did not pretend to the right of dispensing them, which is dominion. So he says before

— for orders and degrees
Jar not with liberty &c.

This is good sense, but still the grammatical construction is not easy. I suppose it must be thus, *much less for this* (can he assume ver. 794.) *to be our Lord.*

809. O

That to his only Son by
With regal scepter, ever
Shall bend the knee, and
Confess him rightful King
Flatly unjust, to bind with
And equal over equals to
One over all with unsuccess
Shalt thou give law to Gods
With him the points of law
Thee what thou art, and find
Such as he pleas'd, and c

Soq. *O argument blasphemous,*]
And so likewise in VI. 360.

Refrain'd his tongue *blasphemous;*
but never said

V. PARADISE LOST. 419

7 experience taught we know how good, 826

f our good and of our dignity

provident he is, how far from thought

ake us less, bent rather to exalt

appy state under one head more near 830

1. But to grant it thee unjust,

equal over equals monarch reign :

!f though great and glorious dost thou count,

angelic nature join'd in one,

to him begotten Son? by whom 835

his Word the mighty Father made

ings, ev'n thee; and all the Spi'rits of Heaven

m created in their bright degrees,

n'd them with glory', and to their glory nam'd

nes, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers,

tial Pow'rs; nor by his reign obscur'd, 841

more illustrious made; since he the head

One

For by him were all things that are in Heaven, and that Earth, visible and invisible, & they be thrones, or dominions, & principalities, or powers; all things created by him and for him, & before all things, and by him they consist: and the conclusion of this speech is taken from the 10th of Psal. II.

840. *Thrones, Dominations, Princedoms, Virtues, Powers.*] This verse, which occurs so often in this poem, is translated, as Mr. Lauder observes, from the frontispiece of Heywood's *Hierarchy of Angels*,

Throni, Dominaciones, Principatus, Virtutes, Potestates.

They

One of our number thus reduc'd becomes;
His laws our laws; all honor to him done
Returns our own. Cease then this impious rage, 845
And tempt not these; but hasten to appease
Th' incens'd Father, and th' incens'd Son,
While pardon may be found in time besought.

So spake the fervent Angel; but his zeal
None seconded, as out of season judg'd, 850
Or singular and rash, whereat rejoic'd
Th' Apostate, and more haughty thus reply'd.
That we were form'd then say'st thou? and the work
Of secondary hands, by task transferr'd

From Father to his Son? (strange point and novel Sense)

n this creation was? remember'st thou
 making, while the Maker gave thee being?
 know no time when we were not as now ;
 v none before us, self-begot, self-rais'd 860
 ur own quick'ning pow'r, when fatal course
 circled his full orb, the birth mature
 is our native Heav'n, ethereal sons.
 uissance is our own; our own right hand
 teach us highest deeds, by proof to try 865
 is our equal: then thou shalt behold
 her by supplication we intend
 es, and to begirt th'almighty throne
 ching or besieging. This report,
 e tidings carry to th' anointed King ; 870
 And

nes three, as well as some-
 wo syllables. As Shake-
 oes likewise, 2 Hen. IV.

the pow'r and *puissance* of
 : king,

title afterwards,

ome against us in full *puif-*
ce.

ormer line *puissance* is used
 syllables, and in the latter
 . It was certainly better
 on to make it all the one or
 ther.

864. — *our own right hand*
Shall teach us highest deeds,] From
 Pfal. XLV. 4. *Thine own right hand*
shall teach thee terrible things.

Dextra mihi Deus, et telum quod
 missile libro. Virg. *Æn.* X. 773.
Bentley.

869. *Besieging or besieging.*]
 Those which are thought the faults
 of Milton may be justify'd by the
 authority of the best writers. This
 sort of jingle is like that in Te-
 rence, *Andria*, Act I. Sc. III. 13.

— inceptio est *amentium*, haud
amentium ;

and

And fly, ere evil intercept thy flight.

He said, and as the sound of waters deep
Hoarse murmur echo'd to his words applause
Through the infinite host; nor less for that
The flaming Seraph fearless, though alone
Incompass'd round with foes, thus answer'd bold.

O alienate from God, O Spi'rit accurs'd,
Forfaken of all good; I see thy fall
Determin'd, and thy hapless crew involv'd
In this perfidious fraud; contagion spread
Both of thy crime and punishment: henceforth
No more be troubled how to quit the yoke
Of God's Messiah: those indulgent laws


That golden scepter, which thou didst reject,
 Is now an iron rod to bruise and break
 Thy disobedience. Well thou didst advise,
 Yet not for thy advice or threats I fly
 These wicked tents devoted, lest the wrath 890
 Impendent, raging into sudden flame.
 Distinguish not: for soon expect to feel
 His thunder on thy head, devouring fire.
 Then who created thee lamenting learn,
 When who can uncreate thee thou shalt know. 895
 So spake the Seraph Abdiel faithful found
 Among the faithless, faithful only he;
 Among innumerable false, unmov'd,
 Unshaken, uneduc'd, unterrify'd
 His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal; 900
 Nor

(as Dr. Pearce says) by understanding *but I fly* before the word *lest*. See the same elliptical way of speaking in II. 483. But it would be plainer and easier with Dr. Bentley's alteration, if there was any authority for it;

These wicked tents *devote*, but
 lest the wrath &c.

896. *So spake the Seraph Abdiel faithful found* &c.] The part of Abdiel, who was the only Spirit that in this infinite host of

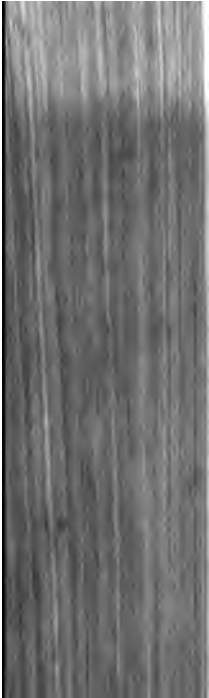
Angels preserved his allegiance to his Maker, exhibits to us a noble moral of religious singularity. The zeal of the Seraphim breaks forth in a becoming warmth of sentiments and expressions, as the character which is given us of him denotes that generous scorn and intrepidity which attends heroic virtue. The author doubtless design'd it as a pattern to those, who live among mankind in their present state of degeneracy and corruption.
Addison.



THE
SIXTH BOOK
OF
PARADISE LOST.

L. I.

N 2



were sent forth to battle against
Angels. The first fight describ'd
Powers retire under night: He ca-
vents devilish engines, which in the
fight put Michael and his Angels to
but they at length pulling up
whelm'd both the force and man-
Yet the tumult not so ending, God
day sends Messiah his Son, for whom
serv'd the glory of that victory: I
of his Father coming to the place,
his legions to stand still on either
chariot and thunder driving into the
enemies, pursues them unable to
the wall of Heaven; which open'd
down with horror and confusion in
punishment prepar'd for them in the
Messiah returns with triumph to his F





PARADISE LOST.

B O O K VI.

Now entering upon the
of Paradise Lost, in
it describes the battel
aving raised his res-
ation, and prepared
y several passages in
g books. I omitted
passages in my ob-
on the former books,
sely reserved them for
of this, the subject of
ccasion to them. The
gination was so in-
us great scene of ac-
terever he speaks of
f possible, above him-
here he mentions Sa-
ginning of his poem,

he almighty Power
dlong flaming from
eal sky,
s ruin and combustion,

his perdition, there to
in chains and penal

defy th'Omnipotent

as wife several noble
the infernal confe-
. &c.

Chief of many thro-
ers,

That led th'imbattel'd Seraphim
to war,
Too well I see and rue the dire
event,
That with sad overthrow and foul
defeat
Hath lost us Heav'n, and all this
mighty host
In horrible destruction laid thus
low.

But see! the angry victor hath re-
call'd
His ministers of vengeance and
pursuit

Back to the gates of Heav'n: the
sulphurous hail
Shot after us in storm, o'erblown
hath laid

The fiery surge, that from the pre-
cipice
Of Heav'n receiv'd us falling;
and the thunder,

Wing'd with red lightning and im-
petuous rage,
Perhaps hath spent his shafts, and
ceases now

To bellow through the vast and
boundless deep.

There are several other very sub-
lime images on the same subject in
the first book, as also in the se-
cond, II. 165. &c.

What when we fled amain, pur-
sued and struck
With Heav'n's afflicting thunder,
and besought

ALL night the dreadless Angel unpursued
 Through Heav'n's wide champain held his way;
 'till morn,
 Wak'd by the circling hours, with rosy hand
 Unbarr'd the gates of light. There is a cave
 Within the mount of God, fast by his throne, 5
 Where light and darkness in perpetual round

Lodge

The deep to shelter us? this Hell
 then seem'd
 A refuge from those wounds.

Pour'd out by millions her victo-
 rious bands
 Pursuing.

In short, the poet never mentions
 any thing of this battel but in such
 images of greatness and terror as
 are suitable to the subject. Among
 several others I cannot forbear
 noting that notice, where the

It requir'd great pregnancy of in-
 vention and strength of imagina-
 tion, to fill this battel with such
 circumstances as should raise and
 astonish the mind of the reader;

ge and dislodge by turns, which makes through
Heaven

eful vicissitude, like day and night;

t issues forth, and at the other door

quious darkness enters, till her hour 10

eil the Heav'n, though darkness there might well

twilight here: and now went forth the morn

Such

f consternation even in the
Angels. This is follow'd by
aring up of mountains and
ntaries; till, in the last place,
essiah comes forth in the ful-
f majesty and terror. The
of his appearance amidst the
gs of his thunders, the flashes
lightnings, and the noise of
riot-wheels, is described with
most flights of human ima-
m. Addison.

— till morn

Ed by the circling hours, with
rofy hand

arr'd the gates of light.] This
ied from Homer's Iliad, V.
where the hours are feign'd
manner to guard the gates
aven.

υλαι—υεαν, ας εχον Ωραι,
πιτετραπλαι μεγας υεαν,⊕,
υλυμπ⊕ τε,
ανακλιναι πυκινον νεφ⊕,
δ' επιθηναι.

in's golden gates, kept by
ne winged hours;
mission'd in alternate watch
bey stand,

The sun's bright portals and the
skies command,
Involve in clouds th' eternal gates
of day,
Or the dark barrier roll with ease
away. Pope.

6. *Where light and darkness &c.*]
The making darkness a positive
thing is poetical. But besides that,
as he thought fit to bring it into
Heaven, it could not be otherwise
represented, for obvious reasons.

Warburton.

And the thought of light and dark-
ness lodging and dislodging by turns,
the one issuing forth and the other
entring, is plainly borrow'd from
a fine passage in Hesiod, which had
almost escap'd me, Theog. 748.

— ὄδι νυξ τε και ημερα αων
ισσαι

Αλληλας προσεηπον, αμφομε-
ναι μαγαν υδον
Χαλκρον η μιν εσω καταβησεται,
η δε θυραζειν
Ερχεται, υδ'ε ποτ' αμφοτερας
δομ⊕ εν⊕ εεργη.

...concluding blaze on bla
War he perceiv'd, war
Already known what h
To have reported: glac
Among those friendly P
With joy and acclamat
That of so many myriac
Return'd not lost: On to
They led him high appl

14. — *vanish'd night,*] It is very absurdly printed in some editions, *vanquish'd night.*

15. *Shot through with orient beams;*] This quaint conceit of *night's being shot through* &c is much below the usual dignity of Milton's descriptions. The Italian poets, even the very best of them, are fond of such boyish fancies. and sh—

Before the seat supreme; from whence a voice
From midst a golden cloud thus mild was heard.

Servant of God, well done, well hast thou fought
The better fight, who single hast maintain'd 30
Against revolted multitudes the cause
Of truth, in word mightier than they in arms;
And for the testimony' of truth hast borne
Universal reproach, far worse to bear
Than violence; for this was all thy care 35
To stand approv'd in fight of God, though worlds
Judg'd thee perverse: the easier conquest now
Remains thee, aided by this host of friends,
Back on thy foes more glorious to return
Than scorn'd thou didst depart, and to subdue 40
By

34. *Universal reproach, far worse to bear*
[*Than violence*]; This sentiment is very just, and not unlike what Horus says in his character of Tarquin the proud — in omnes superbia, quæ crudelitate gravior est bonis, graffatus, Flor. Lib. 1. c. 7. so also Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 4. Cant. 4. St. 4.

For evil deeds may better than bad words be bore. *Thyer.*
Beaumont and Fletcher express the same sentiment very well. Beggars Bush Act II.

A good man bears a contumely worse
Than he would do an injury.
Universal reproach, Here are two Trochees, and not an Iambic till the third foot; and so likewise in V. 874.

Through the infinite host —
This measure is not very common: but as Mr. Jortin observes, Milton often inserts harsh verses, when he could easily have alter'd them, judging, I suppose, that they had the same effect in poetry, which discords have in music.

By force, who reason for **their law refuse,**
Right reason for their law, and for **their king**
Messiah, who by right of **merit reigns.**

Go Michael of celestial **armies prince,**

And thou in military **proweſs next** 45

Gabriel, lead forth to **battel theſe my ſons**

Invincible, lead forth **my armed Saints**

By thousands and by millions rang'd for **fight,**

Equal in number to that **Godleſs crew**

Rebellious; them with **fire and hoſtile arms** 50

Fearleſs aſſault, and to the **brow of Heaven**

Purſuing drive them out from **God and bliſs**

Into their place of **puniſhment, the gulf**

Book VI. PARADISE LOST. 433

His fiery Chaos to receive their fall. 55

So spake the sovran voice, and clouds began
 To darken all the hill, and smoke to roll
 In dusky wreaths, reluctant flames, the sign
 Of wrath awak'd; nor with less dread the loud
 Ethereal trumpet from on high 'gan blow: 60

At which command the Powers militant,
 That stood for Heav'n, in mighty quadrate join'd
 Of union irresistible, mov'd on
 In silence their bright legions, to the sound
 Of instrumental harmony, that breath'd 65

Heroic ardor to adventurous deeds
 Under their God-like leaders, in the cause
 Of God and his Messiah. On they move

In-

Dr. Bentley's change of *bis* into *its*, because *whicb* (not *who*) went before, proceeds upon a supposition that *whicb* is not to be referred to a person; though it is well known that formerly *whicb* was as often apply'd to a person as *who*: as Dr. Pearce observes.

56. — and clouds began
To darken all the hill, and smoke to roll &c.] In this description the author manifestly alludes to that of God descending upon mount Sinai, Exod. XIX. 16, &c. *And it came to pass on the third day in the morning, that there were thun-*

ders, and lightnings, and a thick cloud upon the mount — and mount Sinai was altogether on a smoke, because the Lord descended upon it in fire.

58. — *reluctant flames,*] As slow and unwilling to break forth,

Stupa vomens *tardum* fumum.
 Virg. Æn. V. 682.

64. *In silence*] So Homer observes, Iliad. III. 8. to the honor of his countrymen the Grecians, that they march'd on in silence, while the Trojans advanc'd with noise and clamor.

... — ...
Came summon'd over E
Their names of thee; 1
Of Heav'n they march'd
Tenfold the length of ti
Far in th' horizon to the

71. — *for high above the ground &c.*] Our author attributes the same kind of motion to the Angels, as the Ancients did to their Gods which was gliding thro' the air without ever touching the ground with their feet, or as Milton elsewhere elegantly expresses it (B. VIII. 302.) *smooth-sliding without step.* And Homer, Iliad. V. 778. compares the motion of two Goddesses to the flight of doves, as Milton here compares the march of the Angels to the birds coming on the wing to Adam to receive their names,

From skirt to skirt a fiery region, stretch'd 80
 In battailous aspect, and nearer view
 Bristled with upright beams innumerable
 Of rigid spears, and helmets throng'd, and shields
 Various, with boastful argument portray'd,
 The banded Pow'rs of Satan hasting on 85
 With furious expedition; for they ween'd
 That self-same day by fight, or by surprize,
 To win the mount of God, and on his throne
 To set the envier of his state, the proud
 Aspirer, but their thoughts prov'd fond and vain 90
 In

Milton has raised the image in proportion to his subject. See *An Essay upon Milton's imitations of the Ancients*. p. 9.

81. —, and nearer view &c.] To the north appear'd a fiery region, and nearer to the view appear'd the banded Powers of Satan. It appear'd a fiery region indistinctly at first, but upon nearer view it proved to be Satan's rebel army.

82. *Bristled with upright beams &c.*] The Latins express this by the word *borrens* taken from the *bristling* on a wild boar's or other animal's back. Virg. *Æn.* XI. 601.

— tum late ferreus hastis
 Horret ager.

Milton has before, in II. 513, the expression of *borrent arms*.

84. *Various, with boastful argument portray'd,*] *Shields various* are varied with diverse sculptures and paintings; an elegant Latinism. And the thought of attributing *shields various, with boastful argument portray'd*, to the evil Angels seems to be taken from the Phœnix of Euripides, where the heroes who besiege Thebes are describ'd with the like boastful shields, only the prophet Amphiaraus hath no such boastful argument on his shield, but a shield without argument as became a modest man, ver. 1117.

Ο μαιςις Αμφιαραου, & σημει
 εχων
 Τρεισμιν, αλλα σωφρονος αστη
 οπλα.

In the mid way: though strange to us it seem'd
At first, that Angel should with Angel war,
And in fierce hosting meet, who wont to meet
So oft in festivals of joy and love

Unanimous, as sons of one great fire 95

Hymning th' eternal Father: but the shout
Of battel now began, and rushing sound
Of onset ended soon each milder thought.

High in the midst exalted as a God

Th' Apostate in his sun-bright chariot sat, 100

Idol of majesty divine, inclos'd

With flaming Cherubim and golden shields;

Then

Then lighted from his gorgeous throne, for now
 'Twixt host and host but narrow space was left,
 A dreadful interval, and front to front 105
 Presented stood in terrible array
 Of hideous length: before the cloudy van,
 On the rough edge of battel ere it join'd,
 Satan with vast and haughty strides advanc'd
 Came towring, arm'd in adamant and gold; 110
 Abdiel that fight indur'd not, where he stood
 Among the mightiest, bent on highest deeds,
 And thus his own undaunted heart explores.

O Heav'n! that such resemblance of the Highest
 Should

111. *Abdiel that fight indur'd not,*]
 Virg. Æn. II. 407.

Non tulit hanc speciem furiatâ
 mente Choroebus.

113. *And thus his own undaunted
 heart explores.*] Such solilo-
 quies are not uncommon in the
 poets at the beginning and even in
 the midst of battels. Thus Hector,
 Iliad. XXII. 98. explores his own
 magnanimous heart, before he en-
 gages with Achilles,

Οχθισας δ' αεζ επει επρ' ον
 μεγαλητορα θυμου.

He stood, and question'd thus his
 mighty mind. Pope.

A soliloquy upon such an occasion
 is only making the person *think
 aloud*. And as it is observed by a
 very good judge in these matters,
 this use of soliloquies by the epic
 poets, who might so much more
 easily than the dramatic describe
 the workings of the mind in nar-
 rative, seems to be much in favor
 of the latter in their use of them,
 however the modern critics agree
 (as I think they generally do agree)
 in condemning them as unnatural,
 tho' not only frequent, but gene-
 rally the most beautiful parts in the
 best plays ancient and modern;
 and I believe very few, if any,
 have been wrote without them.

Unfound and false; nor
That he who in debate
Should win in arms, in
Victor; though brutish
When reason hath to de
Most reason is that reaso
So pondering, and fro
Forth stepping opposit, h

115. — *ubere faith and reality*
The author (says Dr. Bentley)
would not have said *reality* but *re-*
ality, and therefore the Doctor
prefers *scalty*, which is undoubtedly
a proper word, but not necessary
here. For *reality* seems not to mean
in this place *reality* in opposition to
show; but *loyalty*, for the Italian
dictionaries explain the adjective
reale by *leale*.

His daring foe, at this prevention more
Incens'd, and thus securely him defy'd. 130

Proud, art thou met? thy hope was to have reach'd
The highth of thy aspiring unoppos'd,
The throne of God unguarded, and his side
Abandon'd at the terror of thy power

Or potent tongue: fool, not to think how vain 135
Against th' Omnipotent to rise in arms;

Who out of smallest things could without end
Have rais'd incessant armies to defeat

Thy folly; or with solitary hand
Reaching beyond all limit, at one blow 140

Unaided could have finish'd thee; and whelm'd
Thy legions under darkness: but thou seest

All

the' Mr. Pope has sometimes less'n'd the spirit of the expression by translating the word ΝΗΤΙΘ some-times

Fool that he was ———

and sometimes making a whole line of it,

Fool that he was, and so the future blind.

But Milton has here particularly imitated Tasso, Cant. 4. St. 2.

Come fra pur leggiera inaspra
(ahi stolto)

Il repugnare a la divisa voglia &c.

O fool! as if it were a thing of naught
God to resist, or change his purpose great, &c. Fairfax.

137. *Who out of smallest things;* For Milton did not favor the opinion, that the creation was out of nothing. *Could have rais'd incessant armies.* Matth. XXVI. 53. *Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more than twelve legions of Angels?*

139. — *solitary hand*] His single hand.

How few sometimes may
Whom the grand foe
Thus answer'd. Ill for t
Of my revenge, first so
From flight, seditious A
Thy merited reward, th
Of this right hand prov
Inspir'd with contradietic

147. — *my self thou self*; &c.
The use of the word *self* in thi
place seems a little forc'd and sin
gular; and I can't help thinking
but Milton brought it in in order to
sneer the Loyalists of his time,
who branded all dissenters, of whom
he was one, with the opprobrious
name of Sectaries. This also ac
counts for the word *few* in the next
line, inasmuch as it suited Milton's
particular view better to establish

l part of the Gods, in synod met
 deities to assert, who while they feel
 divine within them, can allow
 otence to none. But well thou com'st
 thy fellows, ambitious to win 160
 ne some plume, that thy success may show
 stion to the rest: this pause between
 wer'd lest thou boast) to let thee know;
 I thought that Liberty and Heaven
 v'nly souls had been all one; but now 165
 at most through sloth had rather serve,
 ing Spi'rits, train'd up in feast and song;
 ast thou arm'd, the minstrelsy of Heaven,

Servility

Sectaries, tho' fewer in
 et were more in the right
 opposers.

-that thy success may show] 614.
 efs, thy ill success; the
 efs is used in the same

9. Richardson.

-that thy success may serv
 tion to the rest:] Bentley
 testable fault: it should be

Mr. Pope says success
 I don't know what this
 The text is right, and the
 is, that thy success may
 fellows the road to de-
 or the way to destroy their

Warburton.

I.

167. *Ministring Spi'rits,*] So they
 are called Heb. I. 14. *Are they not*
all ministring Spirits? and Satan
 mentions it in derision. Compare
 this with that of Virg. *Æn.* IX.
 614.

Vobis picta croco et fulgenti mu-
 rice vestis :

Desidizæ cordi: juvat indulgere
 choreis :

Et tunicæ manicas et habent redi-
 micula mitræ.

O vere Phrygiæ, neque enim Phry-
 ges! ite per alta

Dindyma, ubi affuetis biforem dat
 tibia cantum.

O o

Tym-

...you deprav
Of servitude to serve
Or Nature; God and
When he who rules i
Them whom he gove
To serve th' unwise, c
Against his worthier,
Thyself not free, but
Yet lewdly dar'st our :

Tympana vos bæuifque vocat
recynthia matris
Ideas: finite arma viris, et ce
ferro.

172. *Apostate, still thou err'st,
and wilt find*

*Of erring, from the path of to
remote:] Something like
is what Juno says to Jupiter, Ili
XIX. 107.*

Reign thou in Hell thy kingdom; let me serve
 Heav'n God ever blest, and his divine
 chests obey, worthiest to be obey'd; 185

Let chains in Hell, not realms expect: mean while
 from me return'd, as erst thou saidst, from flight,
 'his greeting on thy impious crest receive.

So saying, a noble stroke he lifted high,
 Which hung not, but so swift with tempest fell 190

on the proud crest of Satan, that no fight,
 nor motion of swift thought, less could his shield
 perch ruin intercept: ten paces huge

he back recoil'd; the tenth on bended knee
 his massy spear upstay'd; as if on earth 195

winds under ground, or waters forcing way
 Sidelong

Reign thou in Hell thy kingdom; let me serve

Heav'n God ever blest,

sign'd as a contrast to Satan's vaunt in l. 263.

Enter to reign in Hell, than serve in Heaven.

17. *From me return'd, as erst thou saidst, from flight,*

his greeting &c.] So Ascanius in Nil retorts his adversary's term reproach, Æn. IX. 635,

capti Phryges hæc Rutulis responsa remittunt,

uding to ver. 599:

189. *So saying, &c.] Saying is here contracted into one syllable, or is to be pronounc'd as two short ones, which very well expresses the eagerness of the Angel. He struck at his foe before he had finish'd his speech, while he was speaking, which is much better than Dr. Bentley's reading *So said,* as if he had not aim'd his blow, till after he had spoken.*

195. — *as if on earth Winds under ground, &c.] Hesiod compares the fall of Cygnus to an oak or a rock falling, Scut. Herc.*

421.

Th' Arch-Angel trump
It founded, and the fa

Ἡεπε δ', ὡς ὅτε τις δρυς περὶ
ἢ ὅτε πετρῆ

Ἡλιζατῶ, πλωγυσα Διῶ
λουσι κεραινω.

And similes of this kind are v
frequent amongst the ancient po
but though our author might t
the hint of his from thence,
we must allow, that he has w
great art and judgment highte
it in proportion to the superior di
nity of his subject. But perha
he might rather more probably s
lude to Spenser's description of t
fall of the old dragon, under whic
allegory he intended to represent
Christian's victory over the Devi
Fairy Queen, B. 1. Cant. 11. St. 5.

So down he fell, as an huge rock
clift,

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Hofanna to the High'eft: nor flood at gaze 205
 The adverfe legions, nor left hideous join'd
 The horrid fhock: now ftorming fury rofe,
 And clamor fuch as heard in Heav'n till now
 Was never; arms on armour clafhing bray'd
 Horrible difcord, and the madding wheels 210
 Of brazen chariots rag'd; dire was the noife
 Of conflict; over head the difmal his

Of

and fometimes it is ufed as a verb active, as here in Milton; Fairy Queen, B. 5. Cant. 11. St. 20.

Even blasphemous words, which she doth *bray*:

and in Shakefpear's Hamlet, Act I.

The kettle-drum and trumpet thus *bray* out

• The triumph of his pledge.

212. — *over head the difmal his*
Of fiery darts] Now the author
 has come to that part of his poem,
 where he is moft to exert what fa-
 culty he has of $\psi\downarrow\ominus$, magnilo-
 quence of ftile, and fublimity of
 thought,

Nunc, veneranda Pales, magno
 nunc ore fonandum.

Virg. Georg. III. 294.

He has executed it to admiration:
 but the danger is, of being hurried
 away by his unbridled fteed; and
 of deferting propriety, while he's
 hunting after found and tumor.

And 'tis hard to guefs, what fault
 to charge on the printer, fince
 poetic fury is commonly both
 thought and allow'd to be regard-
 lefs of fyntax. But here in this
 fentence, which is certainly vi-
 cious, *the his* flew in volies, and
the his vaulted the hofts with fire:
 the author may be fairly thought
 to have given it

— over head *with* difmal his

The fiery darts in flaming volies
 flew. Bentley.

But if there be any place in this
 poem, where the fublimity of the
 thought will allow the accuracy of
 expreffion to give way to the ftrength
 of it, it is here. There is a pecu-
 liar force fometimes in afcribing
 that to a circumftance of the thing,
 which more properly belongs to
 the thing itfelf; to the *his*, which
 belongs to the *darts*. See my note
 on II. 654.

Pearce.
 As the learned Mr. Upton remarks
 in his Critical Obfervations on
 Shakefpear,

weight of the victory. The *moment*, the weight that turns the balance, as the word signifies in Latin. Ter. Andr. I. V. 31. *Dum in dubio est animus, paulo momento huc vel illuc impellitur*: And as he has employ'd here the metaphor of the *scales*, so of the *scales* a little afterwards — *long time in even scale The battel hung*. — using as a metaphor what Homer makes a simile of, *Iliad. XII. 433*.

Ἀλλ' ἴχθῳ, ὡς τὰ λαβίστα γυρῶν —
Ὡς μὲν τῶν ἐπίσημα μάχη τέτα-
το ἀβόλεμ' ἔτε.

As when two scales are charg'd
with doubtful loads —
So flood the war, till Hector's
matchless might
With fates prevailing turn'd the
scale of fight. Pope.

And in several particulars he has
had his eye upon Homer, and
commonly exceeds his master. Ho-
mer

Prodigious pow'r had shown, and met in arms
 No equal, ranging through the dire attack
 Of fighting Seraphim confus'd, at length 249
 Saw where the sword of Michael smote, and fell'd
 Squadrons at once; with huge two-handed sway
 Brandish'd aloft the horrid edge came down

Wide

applying the word *torment*, which the Latin poets did before him in using the term *vexare*. So Marino describing Neptune raising a storm, Adon. Cant. 1. St. 123.

— e d' Aquiloni

Col fulmine dentato (emulo a Gioue)

Tormentando la terra, il mar commoue. *Tiber.*

So Spenser in the Mourning Muse of Thestylis, speaking of Æolus,

Who letting loose the winds
 Toft and tormented tb' air.

247. — and met in arms

No equal.] The poet seems almost to have forgotten how Satan was foil'd by Abdiel in the beginning of the action: but I suppose the poet did not consider Abdiel as *equal* to Satan, tho' he gain'd that accidental advantage over him. Satan no doubt would have prov'd an overmatch for Abdiel, only for the general engagement which ensued, and broke off the combat between them.

251. — with huge two-handed sway &c.] It shows how entirely the ideas of chivalry and romance had possessed him, to make Michael fight with a *two-handed sword*. The same idea occasion'd his expressing himself very obscurely in the following lines of his *Lycidas*,

But that two-handed engin at the door
 Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.

These are the last words of Peter predicting God's vengeance on his church by his ministry. The making him the minister is in imitation of the Italian poets, who in their satiric pieces against the church always make Peter the minister of vengeance. The *two-handed engin* is the two-handed Gothic sword, with which the painters draw him. *Stands ready at the door* was then a common phrase to signify a thing imminent. *To smite once and smite no more* signifies a final destruction, but alludes to Peter's single use of his

Intestin war in Heav'n,
Or captive dragg'd in ch
And visage all inflam'd f
Author of ev'il, unkn
Unnam'd in Heav'n, nov
These acts of hateful stri
Though heaviest by just
And thy adherents: how
Heav'n's blessed peace, at

his sword in the case of the High
Priest's servant. *Warburton.*

255. *Of tenfold adamant,*] In
other poets the Angels are armed
in adamant, and in Tasso there is
particular mention of an adaman-
tin shield, Cant. 7. St. 82. *Scudo di
lucidissimo diamante:* But Milton's
is stronger, *of tenfold adamant*

liferly, uncreated till the crime
 Of thy rebellion? how hast thou infill'd
 Thy malice into thousands, once upright 270

and faithful, now prov'd false? But think not here
 To trouble holy rest; Heav'n casts thee out
 From all her confines. Heav'n the seat of bliss
 Looks not the works of violence and war.

Hence then, and evil go with thee along, 275

Thy offspring, to the place of evil, Hell,
 Thou and thy wicked crew; there mingle broils,
 Ere this avenging sword begin thy doom,
 Or some more sudden vengeance wing'd from God
 Recipitate thee with augmented pain. 280.

So spake the prince of Angels; to whom thus
 The Adversary. Nor think thou with wind

Of

affo, where Michael in like man-
 ner rebukes the infernal Spirits
 who fought against the Christians,
 ant. 9. St. 64.

Itene maledetti al vostro regno,
 Regno di pene, e di perpetua
 morte:
 E siano in quegli a voi douuti
 chioftri
 Le vostre guerre, et i trionfi vostri.

Go hence you curst to your ap-
 pointed lands,

The realms of death, of torments,
 and of woes,
 And in the deeps of that in-
 fernal lake
 Your battels fight, and there your
 triumphs make. Fairfax.

282. *The Adversary.*] Not as any
 enemy in fight may be call'd, but
 in a sense peculiar to him, Satan
 being his name, and Satan in He-
 brew signifying *the adversary*.

282. — *Nor think thou &c.*] *Hom. Iliad. XX. 200.*

The strife which thou c
The strife of glory; wh
Or turn this Heav'n itsel
Thou fablest, here howe
If not to reign: mean w
And join him nam'd Aln
I fly not, but have sough
They ended parle, and
Unspeakable; for who, ti

Παλαίδη, μὴ δὴ μ' ἐπίσσει γέ,
ἐμπύτιον ὄς,
Ἐλπίο δ' εἰδ' ἰξέδα.

289. *The strife which thou call'st
evil,] The author gave it*

*The strife which thou call'st
bateful.*

Of Angels, can relate, or to what things
 Liken on earth conspicuous, that may lift
 Human imagination to such highth 300
 Of Godlike pow'r? for likest Gods they seem'd,
 Stood they or mov'd, in stature, motion, arms,
 Fit to decide the empire of great Heaven.
 Now wav'd their fiery swords, and in the air
 Made horrid circles; two broad suns their shields 305
 Blaz'd opposit, while expectation stood
 In horror; from each hand with speed retir'd,
 Where erst was thickest fight, th'angelic throng,
 And left large field, unsafe within the wind
 Of such commotion; such as, to set forth 310
 Great things by small, if nature's concord broke,
 Among the constellations war were sprung,

Two

so conspicuous as to lift human imagination &c. A general battel is a scene of too much confusion, and therefore the poets relieve themselves and their readers by drawing now and then a single combat between some of their principal heroes, as between Paris and Menelaus, Hector and Ajax, Hector and Achilles in the Iliad, and between Turnus and Pallas, Æneas and Mezentius, Turnus and Æneas in the Æneid: and very fine they are, but fall very short of the sub-

limity of this description. Those are the combats of Men, but this of Angels; and this so far surpasses them, that one would think that an Angel indeed had related it.

306. — *while expectation stood In horror;*] Expectation is personify'd in the like sublime manner in Shakespear, Hen. V. Act II.

For now fits expectation in the air.

311. — *if nature's concord broke, Among the constellations war were sprung,*] The context shows (says

As not of pow'r at once

(says Dr. Bentley) that Milton gave it *warfare* instead of *war were*. Suppose the Doctor to mean, that in the common reading there wanting a copulative particle between the 312th and 313th verse. Now how does the Doctor's alteration mend the matter? *Broke* and *sprung* (he says) are both participles of the ablative case. Suppose them so; will there not be wanting in the Doctor's reading a copulative particle between the 311th and 312th verses, to connect *broke* and *sprung*? So that the fault of Milton (if it be a fault) is not remov'd from the poem by the Doctor, but only shifted to another verse. We had better keep then the old reading, and allow the poet the liberty of dropping the copulative before the words *Two planets*, on account of that fire of imagination which was kindled, and the

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In might or swift prevention: but the sword 320
 Of Michael from the armoury of God
 Was giv'n him temper'd so, that neither keen
 Nor solid might resist that edge: it met
 The sword of Satan with steep force to smite
 Descending, and in half cut sheer; nor stay'd, 325
 But with swift wheel reverse, deep entring shar'd

All

Milton, notwithstanding the sublime genius he was master of, has in this book drawn to his assistance all the helps he could meet with among the ancient poets. The sword of Michael, which makes so great a havoc among the bad Angels, was given him, we are told, out of *the armoury of God*,

Was giv'n him temper'd so, that
 neither keen
 Nor solid might resist that edge:
 it met
 The sword of Satan with steep
 force to smite
 Descending, and in half cut sheer;

This passage is a copy of that in Virgil, wherein the poet tells us, that the sword of Æneas, which was given him by a deity, broke into pieces the sword of Turnus, which came from a mortal forge. As the moral in this place is divine, so by the way we may observe, that the bestowing on a man who is favor'd by Heaven such an allegorical weapon, is very conformable to the old eastern way of thinking. Not only Homer has

made use of it, but we find the Jewish hero in the book of Maccabees, 2 Maccab. XV. 15, 16. who had fought the battels of the chosen people with so much glory and success, receiving in his dream a sword from the hand of the prophet Jeremiah.

Addison.
 Tasso likewise mentions the armoury of God, Cant. 7. St. 80. But this account of Michael's sword seems to be copied from Arthegal's in Spenser, Fairy Queen, B. 5. Cant. 1. St. 10.

For of most perfect metal it was made, —

And was of no less virtue, than of fame.

For there no substance was so firm and hard,

But it would pierce or cleave, whereso it came;

Ne any armour could his dint outward,

But wheresoever it did light it throughly shar'd.

And this word *shar'd* is used in the same manner by Milton.

325. — and in half cut sheer; —]
 We

we have here a rare opportunity to observe how finely great geniuses imitate one another. There is a most beautiful passage in Homer's *Iliad*, III. 363. where the sword of Menelaus in a duel with Paris breaks in pieces in his hand; and the line in the original is so contriv'd, that we do not only see the action, as Eustathius remarks, but almost fancy we hear the sound of the breaking sword in the sound of the words,

Τειχθατε και τετραχθα δια-
τρυφει εντρος χαρθη.

As this kind of beauty could hardly be equal'd by Virgil, he has with great judgment substituted another of his own, and has artfully made a break in the verse to express the breaking short of the sword of Turnus against the divine armour of *Aeneas*, *Aen.* XII. 731. &c.

— at perfidus ensis
Frangitur, | in medioque arden-
tem deserit ictu.

But he did not think this sufficient, he was sensible that Homer had still

Not long divifible; and from the gash 33^I

A ſtream of necta'rous humor iffuing flow'd

Sanguin, ſuch as celeftial Spi'rits may bleed,

And all his armour ſtain'd ere while ſo bright.

Forthwith

almoſt painful in deſcribing Satan's pain,

Ιχθὺρ ὀϊσσοῦν τε πρὸς μακάρους
Στοιεί.

— deep entering ſbar'd

All his right ſide: then Satan firſt
knew pain,

And writh'd him to and fro con-
volv'd; ſo fore

The griding ſword with diſcontin-
uous wound

Pals'd through him.

Homer's Gods when wounded bled *Ichor*, different from human blood, and peculiar to them. And Milton makes his Angels bleed the ſame humor, that has no other name. He gave it therefore

*A ſtream of ichorous humor iffuing
flow'd.* Bentley.

329. *The griding ſword with diſ-
continuous wound*] *Disconti-
nuous wound* is ſaid in alluſion to
the old definition of a wound, that
it ſeparates the continuity of the
parts, *vinculus eſt ſolutio continui*:
And *griding* is an old word for cut-
ting, and uſed in Spenſer, as in
Fairy Queen, B. 2. Cant. 8. St. 36.

I ſhould have thought that an at-
tentive reader could not have miſ'd
obſerving that the *ſtream* which
Milton ſpeaks of was not of *nec-
tarous humor* only, but of *nectarous
humor ſanguin*, that is, converted
into what *celeſtial Spirits bleed*:
and what is that but the ſame
which Homer expreſſes by one
word *Ichor*? If this was the poet's
meaning, the Doctor's objection is
wide of the mark. Beſides, if
nectarous was wrong, yet *ichorous*
would not ſeem to be right, becauſe
the middle ſyllable of it ſhould be
long, according to the proſody of
the word from which it is deriv'd.

That through his thigh the mortal
ſteel did gride.

332. *A ſtream of nectarous humor
iffuing flow'd*

Sanguin,] Here's an odious blun-
der. *Nectar* is the drink of the
Gods; and was Satan's humor or
blood a proper drink? But the
next line ſhows what the author
dictated,

Peaccc.

Sanguin, ſuch as celeftial Spirits
may bleed.

The paſſage wherein Satan is de-
ſcribed as wounded by the ſword
of Michael is in imitation of Ho-
mer. Homer tells us that upon
Diomedes wounding the Gods,
there flow'd from the wound an

The whole diſtich is word for word
taken from a verſe in Homer,

V O L. I,

P p

I. Ichor,

To find himself not match
Humbled by such rebuke
His confidence to equal C

Ichor, or pure kind of blood, which was not bred from mortal viands ; and that tho' the pain was exquisitely great, the wound soon closed up and healed in those beings who are vested with immortality. *Addison.*

The reader perhaps would be pleased to see the passage in Homer here quoted, *Iliad. V. 339.*

— ῥεε δ' ἀμβροτον αἶμα θεοῖο,
Ἰχωρ οἷσπερ τε ρεε μακαρισσι
θεοισιν·

Οὐ γὰρ σιτον ἐδ'ουσ', ἔπιουσ' αὖ
θηγα οἶνον,

Τε: ἐκ' ἀναιμονες εἰσι, καὶ ἀθανά-
τοι καλεοῖται.

From the clear vein a stream im-
mortal flow'd,

Such stream as immortals flow'd.

Yet soon he heal'd; for Spi'rits that live throughout
 Vital in every part, not as frail man 345
 In entrails, heart or head, liver or reins,
 Cannot but by annihilating die;
 Nor in their liquid texture mortal wound
 Receive, no more than can the fluid air:
 All heart they live, all head, all eye, all ear, 350
 All intellect, all sense; and as they please,
 They limb themselves, and color, shape or size
 Assume,

— Τον δ' ἀρ' ἑταροῖ
 Κερσῶ περιαιίτες φρεσὶν ἐκ ποσὶ,
 ἄρ' ἰκιδ' ἰππυς
 Ωκεας, οἱ οἱ σπιδε μαχης ἡδὲ
 φλοαμοιο
 Ἐγασαν, πνιοχοντε και αρματα
 ποικιλ' εχουσης &c.

much more loose and redundant than our expressive author. *Hume.*

344. — for Spi'rits that live throughout &c.] Our author's reason for Satan's healing so soon is better than Homer's upon a like occasion, as we quoted it just now. And we see here Milton's notions of Angels. They are vital in every part, and can receive no mortal wound, and cannot die but by annihilation. They are all eye, all ear, all sense and understanding; and can assume what kind of bodies they please. And these notions, if not true in divinity, yet certainly are very fine in poetry;

but most of them are not disagreeable to those hints which are left us of these spiritual beings in Scripture.

348. *Nor in their liquid texture mortal wound Receive, no more than can the fluid air:*] The same comparison in Shakespear, Macbeth, A&V.

As easy may'st thou the intrenchant air
 With thy keen sword impress, as make me bleed.

350. *All heart they live, all head, all eye, all ear, All intellect, all sense;*] This is expressed very much like Pliny's account of God. Nat. Hist. L. 1. c. 7. Quisquis est Deus, si modo est alius, et quacunque in parte, totus est sensus, totus visus, totus auditus, totus animæ, totus animi, totus sui.

Threaten'd, nor from th
Refrain'd his tongue bla
Down cloven to the wat
And uncouth pain fled b
Uriel and Raphaël his v

362. *And uncouth pain fled b
lowing.*] I question not b
Milton in his description of his fi
rious Moloch flying from the ba
tel, and bellowing with the woun
he had received, had his eye o
Mars in the Iliad; who upon hi
being wounded is represented a
retiring out of the fight, and mak
ing an outcry louder than that of
whole army when it begins th
charge. Homer adds that th
Greeks and Trojans, who wer
engaged in a general battel, wer
terrify'd on each side with the bel
lowing of this wounded deity. Th
reader will easily observe how Mil

Though huge, and in a rock of diamond arm'd,
 Vanquish'd Adramelech, and Asmadai, 365
 Two potent Thrones, that to be'less than Gods
 Disdain'd, but meaner thoughts learn'd in their flight,
 Mangled with ghastly wounds through plate and mail.
 Nor stood unmindful Abdiel to annoy
 The atheist crew, but with redoubled blow 370
 Ariel and Arioch, and the violence
 Of Ramiel scorch'd and blasted overthrew.
 I might relate of thousands, and their names
 Eternize here on earth; but those elect

Angels,

word is left out in this line, and that the sense and the measure would be improv'd by reading it thus,

Uriel and *Raphael*, each his vaunting foe.

365. *Adramelech*,] Hebrew, *Mighty magnificent king*, one of the idols of Sepharvaim, worshipped by them in Samaria, when transplanted thither by Shalmaneser. *And the Sepharvites burns their children in the fire to Adramelech*, 2 Kings XVII. 31. *Asmadai*, the lustful and destroying Angel Asmodeus, mention'd Tobit III. 8. who robbed Sara of her seven husbands; of a Hebrew word signifying to *destroy*. Hume.

368. — [*plate and mail*.] *Plate* is the broad solid armour. *Mail* is

that compos'd of small pieces like shells, or scales of fish laid one over the other; or something resembling the feathers as they lie on the bodies of fowl, V. 284.

Richardson.

371. *Ariel and Arioch*,] Two fierce Spirits, as their names denote. *Ariel* Hebrew, *the lion of God*, or *a strong lion*. *Arioch* of the like signification, *a fierce and terrible lion*. *Ramiel* Hebrew, *one that exalts himself against God*.

Hume.

373. *I might relate of thousands, &c.*] The poet here puts into the mouth of the Angel an excellent reason for not relating more particulars of this first battel. It would have been improper on all accounts to have enlarged much more upon it, but it was proper that the Angel

For strength from truth
 Illaudable, nought merit
 And ignominy, yet to gl
 Vain glorious, and throu
 Therefore eternal silence
 And now their mightie
 With many an inroad gor

should appear to know more than
 he chose to relate, or than the poet
 was able to make him relate.

382. *Illaudable,*] Is used here
 much in the same manner as *illan-*
ditus in Virgil,

— Quis aut Euryfthea durum,
 Aut *illaudati* nescit Busiridis aras?
 Georg. III. 5.

And the learned reader may, if he
 pleases, see a dissertation upon that


Enter'd, and foul disorder; all the ground
 With shiver'd armour strown, and on a heap
 Chariot and charioteer lay overturn'd, 390
 And fiery foaming steeds; what flood, recoil'd
 O'er-wearied, through the faint Satanic host
 Defensive scarce, or with pale fear surpris'd,
 Then first with fear surpris'd and sense of pain,
 Fled ignominious, to such evil brought 395
 By sin of disobedience, till that hour
 Not liable to fear or flight or pain.
 Far otherwise th' inviolable Saints
 In cubic phalanx firm advanc'd entire,
 Invulnerable, impenetrably arm'd; 400
 Such

Say that what flood their ground, fled; but that is not the meaning of it, what flood is put in opposition to what lay overturn'd in the preceding line. Part of the Satanic host lay overturn'd; and that part which was not overturn'd, but kept on their feet, and stood, either gave way and recoil'd o'er-wearied, or with pale fear surpris'd fled ignominious.

396. — *till that hour &c.*] It seems a very extraordinary circumstance attending a battel, that not only none of the warriors on either side were capable of death by wound, but on one side none were capable of wound or even of pain.

This was a very great advantage on the side of the good Angels; but we must suppose that the rebel Angels did not know their own weakness till this hour.

399. *In cubic phalanx firm*] In strictness of speech, to have been cubic, it must have been as high, as it is broad, as Dr. Bentley justly observes. But why must a poet's mind, sublim'd as Milton's was on this occasion, be expected to attend to every circumstance of an epithet made use of? He meant *four square* only, having that property of a cube to be equal in length on all sides. And so he expresses himself in his tract called *The reason*



Now night her course
Inducing darkness, grate
And silence on the odious
Under her cloudy covert
Victor and vanquish'd: o
Michaël and his Angels p

*of Church Government &c. p. 215.
Edit. Toland. As those smaller squares
in battel unite in one great cube, the
main phalanx, an emblem of truth
and stedfastness. To be sure Mil-
ton's cubic, tho' not strictly proper,
is better than the epithet martial
(which the Doctor would give us
in the room of it) because a pha-
lanx in battel could not be other-
wise than martial; and so closely
united an idea could not have any
beauty or force here. Pearce.*

405. — *though from their place ho*

Incamping, plac'd in guard their watches round,
 Cherubic waving fires: on th' other part
 Satan with his rebellious disappear'd,
 Far in the dark dislodg'd; and void of rest, 415
 His potentates to council call'd by night;
 And in the midst thus undismay'd began.

O now in danger try'd, now known in arms
 Not to be overpower'd, Companions dear,
 Found worthy not of liberty alone, 420
 Too mean pretence, but what we more affect,
 Honor, dominion, glory, and renown;
 Who have sustain'd one day in doubtful fight
 (And

ing fires, that is Cherubim like fires waving; the Cherubim being described by our author, agreeably to Scripture, as of a fiery substance and nature.

415. — and void of rest, His potentates to council call'd by night;] So Agamemnon, the Grecians being defeated by Hector, calls a council of the princes and generals by night. Iliad. IX.

418. O now in danger try'd, &c.] This speech of Satan is very artful. He flatters their pride and vanity, and avails himself of the only comfort that could be drawn from this day's engagement (tho' it was

a false comfort) that God was neither so powerful nor wise as he was taken to be. He was forc'd to acknowledge that they had suffer'd some loss and pain, but endeavors to lessen it as much as he can, and attributes it not to the true cause, but to their want of better arms and armour, which he therefore proposes that they should provide themselves withal, to defend themselves and annoy their enemies.

422. Honor, dominion, glory, and renown;] Dr. Bentley thinks that Milton gave it *Pow'r and dominion* &c. *Honor, glory, and renown*, (he says) are three words all allied

(And if one day, why not eternal days?)
What Heaven's Lord had pow'rfullest to send 425
Against us from about his throne, and judg'd
Sufficient to subdue us to his will,
But proves not so: then fallible, it seems,
Of future we may deem him, though till now
Omniscient thought. True is, less firmly arm'd, 430
Some disadvantage we indur'd and pain,
Till now not known, but known as soon contemn'd;
Since now we find this our empyreal form
Incapable of mortal injury, 434
Imperishable, and though pierc'd with wound,
Soon closing, and by native vigor heal'd.

Or equal what between us made the odds,
 In nature none: if other hidden cause
 Left them superior, while we can preserve
 Unhurt our minds and understanding sound,
 Due search and consultation will disclose.

445

He sat; and in th' assembly next upstood
 Nisroch, of Principalities the prime;
 As one he stood escap'd from cruel fight,
 Sore toil'd, his riven arms to have hewn,
 And cloudy in aspect thus answer'ing spake. 450
 Deliverer from new Lords, leader to free
 Enjoyment of our right as Gods; yet hard
 For Gods, and too unequal work we find,
 Against unequal arms to fight in pain,
 Against unpain'd, impassive; from which evil 455
 Ruin must needs ensue; for what avails
 Valor or strength, though matchless, quell'd with pain
 Which

Τι δ' αὖ θεοσιμων, ὃ θανειν ἢ
 μορσιμον; Thyer.

447. *Nisroch*,] A God of the Assyrians, in whose temple at Niniveh Sennacherib was kill'd by his two sons, 2 Kings XIX. 37. and Isaiah XXXVII. 37. 'Tis not known who this God *Nisroch* was.

The Seventy call him *Mesrach* in Kings, and *Nasarach* in Isaiah; Josephus calls him *Araktes*. He must have been a principal idol, being worshipped by so great a prince, and at the capital city Niniveh; which may justify Milton in calling him of *Principalities* the prime.

Which all subdues, and makes remiss the hands
Of mightiest? Sense of pleasure we may well
Spare out of life perhaps, and not repine, 460
But live content, which is the calmest life:
But pain is perfect misery, the worst
Of evils, and excessive, overturns
All patience. He who therefore can invent
With what more forcible we may offend 465
Our yet unwounded enemies, or arm
Ourselves with like defense, to me deserves
No less than for deliverance what we owe,
 Whereto with look compos'd Satan reply'd.
Not uninvented that, which thou aright 470

Which of us who beholds the bright surface
 Of this ethereous mold whereon we stand,
 This continent of spacious Heav'n, adorn'd
 With plant, fruit, flow'r ambrosial, gems and gold;
 Whose eye so superficially surveys 476
 These things, as not to mind from whence they grow
 Deep under ground, materials dark and crude,
 Of spiritous and fiery spume, till touch'd
 With Heaven's ray, and temper'd they shoot forth
 So-beauteous, opening to the ambient light? 481
 These in their dark nativity the deep
 Shall yield us pregnant with infernal flame;
 Which into hollow engins long and round
 Thick-ramm'd, at th' other bore with touch of fire 485

Dilated

not as it is commonly pronounc'd,
 or Milton would hardly use a tro-
 chaic foot at the end of the verse.
 Dr. Bentley reads likewise *this ethe-*
real mold; and it is true Milton
 commonly uses the word *ethereal*,
 but that is no reason why he may
 not say likewise *ethereous* which is
 nearer the Latin *ethereus*. The
 construction of this sentence is,
Which of us who beholds &c so su-
perificially surveys these things: but
 as the nominative case *which of us*
 is mention'd so many lines before
 the verb *surveys*, he throws in ano-
 ther nominative case,

Whose eye so superficially surveys
&c.

482. — *the deep*] It is com-
 monly used for *Hell*, but here is
 only oppos'd to *surface*, ver. 472.
 and is the same as *deep under ground*,
 ver. 478. which may likewise ex-
 plain the word *infernal* in the next
 line. Not but *infernal flame* may
 mean flame like that of *Hell*, *Hell*
 having been frequently mention'd
 before by the Angels, and the idea
 being very well known.

484. *Which into hollow &c.*]
Which that is the materials, ver.
 478. *These*

Dilated and infuriate, shall send forth
From far with thund'ring noise among our foes
Such implements of mischief, as shall dash
To pieces, and o'erwhelm whatever stands
Adverse, that they shall fear we have disarm'd 490
The Thund'rer of his only dreaded bolt.
Nor long shall be our labor; yet ere dawn,
Effect shall end our wish. Mean while revive;
Abandon fear; to strength and counsel join'd
Think nothing hard, much less to be despair'd. 495
He ended, and his words their drooping cheer
Inlighten'd, and their languish'd hope reviv'd.

' invention all admir'd, and each, how he
 be th' inventor mis'd; so easy' it seem'd
 ce found, which yet unfound most would have
 thought

500

possible: yet haply of thy race
 future days, if malice should abound,
 ne one intent on mischief, or inspir'd
 th devilish machination, might devise
 e instrument to plague the sons of men

505

fin, on war and mutual slaughter bent.
 thwith from council to the work they flew;
 ne arguing stood; innumerable hands

Were

Spenser has the same thought,
 y Queen, B. 1. Cant. 7. St. 13.
 when that devilish iron engin
 wrought
 deepest Hell, and fram'd by
 Furies skill,
 th windy nitre and quick sul-
 phur fraught,
 d ramm'd with bullet round,
 ordain'd to kill &c.

tho' the poets have agreed to
 bute the invention to the Devil
 a notion of its being so de-
 rive to mankind, yet many
 ors have observed, that since
 use of artillery there has less
 ghter been made in battels than
 before, when the engagements
 e closer and lasted longer.

502. *In future days*— *Some one in-
 tent, &c.*] This speaking
 in the spirit of prophecy adds
 great dignity to poetry. It is in
 the same spirit that Dido makes
 the imprecation, Virg. *Æn.* IV.
 625.

*Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus
 ultor &c.*

This here very properly comes
 from the mouth of an Angel.

507. *Forthwith from council to
 the work they flew; &c.*] This
 and the two following lines
 are admirably contriv'd to express
 the hurry of the Angels; and con-
 sist therefore of short periods, with-
 out any particles to connect them.

512. — *sulphurous and n.
foam &c.*] Dr. Bentley w
have us read as follows,

— sulphurous and nitrous fo
They *found*, they *mingle*, and
footy chark

Concocted and adusted, they

duce
To blackest grain, and into fl

convey:

Part hidden veins *dig* up.

To justify this great alteration
the text, the Doctor premises c
postulatum (tho' it is properly tw
that Milton is here describing t
making of gun-powder, and th
he was not ignorant how it w
made. Agreed. Let us now e
amin the Doctor's objections pa
ticularly. *Sulphurous and nitrou
foam adusted?* (says he) why at th
least approach of heat they will fl
away in exhalations. I think tha
this is not true: tho' these

Book VI. PARADISE LOST. 473

To blackest grain, and into store convey'd: 515

Part hidden veins digg'd up (nor hath this earth
Entrails unlike) of mineral and stone,

Whereof to found their engins and their balls

Of missive ruin; part incentive reed

Provide, pernicious with one touch to fire. 520

So

tractedly for *charcoal*; and is but a cant word fit only for the powder-mill, not for a poem: for *charcoal* is, in its etymology, what is *char'd* or rather *charr'd to a coal*, that is, burnt tho' not ashes. *Sooty coal*, V. 440. is right: 'but when the word *char*, or *charcoal* at length, is used, *sooty* seems a superfluous epithet, because it is implied in the word *charr'd*. In the common reading the Doctor misses the word *pound*; a necessary word, because without long *pounding* the three ingredients together, no powder can be made. But is not the sense of the word *pound* sufficiently imply'd in *reduc'd to grain*? The words *found*, *mingled*, *reduc'd*, *convey'd*, *digg'd*, were chang'd (says the Doctor) from the present to the perfect tense: for the present tense *provide* in ver. 520. demonstrates that all the foregoing verbs were of the same manner. If there were any demonstration to be drawn from hence, one would think rather that it would fall against the present tense *provide*. But there is hardly a page where Milton has not run from one tense to another, and

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sometimes he has even coupled unlike tenses. *Pearce*.

516. *Part hidden veins digg'd up (nor hath this earth*

Entrails unlike) of mineral and stone.] Dr. Bentley has carried on the mark of parenthesis to the end of the verse; but it should be plac'd after *unlike*: and the *stone* may have been mention'd here as what they used for *balls*. That stone-bullets have been in use, see Chambers's Univ. Dict. in *Cannon*. Or Milton by the word *stone* here would express more distinctly that the metal, of which they made their *engins* and *balls*, was inclos'd in and mix'd with a stony substance in the mine. See Furetiere's French Dictionary upon the word *Mineral*. *Pearce*.

520. — *pernicious with one touch to fire.*] 'The incentive reed is indeed *pernicious* as the engins and balls do no mischief till touch'd by that: but probably *pernicious* is not to be understood here in the common acceptation, but in the sense of the Latin *pernix*, quick, speedy, &c.

Q q

521. — under

So all ere day-spring, under conscious night,
 Secret they finish'd, and in order set,
 With silent circumspection unesp'y'd.

Now when fair morn orient in Heav'n appear'd,
 Up rose the victor Angels, and to arms 525
 The matin trumpet sung: in arms they stood
 Of golden panoply, refulgent host,
 Soon banded; others from the dawning hills
 Look'd round, and scouts each coast light-armed
 scour,
 Each quarter, to descry the distant foe, 530

Where

521. — *under conscious night,*] 527. *Of golden panoply,*] With

Where lodg'd, or whither fled, or if for fight,
 In motion or in halt: him soon they met
 Under spread ensigns moving nigh, in slow
 But firm battalion; back with speediest sail
 Zophiel, of Cherubim the swiftest wing, 535
 Came fly'ing, and in mid air aloud thus cry'd.

Arm, Warriors, arm for fight; the foe at hand,
 Whom fled we thought, will save us long pursuit
 This day; fear not his flight; so thick a cloud
 He comes, and settled in his face I see 540
 Had resolution and secure: let each

His

533. — in slow
 But firm battalion;] The reason
 their being both a slow and
 firm battalion is suggested a little
 afterwards. They were slow in
 drawing their cannon, and firm in
 order to conceal it, ver. 551.

535. Zophiel, In Hebrew the spy
 God. Hume.

539. — so thick a cloud
 He comes,] This metaphor is
 usual in all languages, and in al-
 most all authors to express a great
 multitude. We have it in Heb.
 II. 1. Seeing we also are com-
 mitted about with so great a cloud of
 witnesses &c. We have ῥεῖθε
 ἕω: in Homer, Iliad. IV. 247:
 ἄμβυσ πεδίτου in Virgil, Æn. VII.

793. and clouds of foot in Paradise
 Regain'd, III. 327. We have pe-
 ditum equitumque nubes in Livy,
 Lib. 5. and even nubem belli in
 Virgil, Æn. X. 809. and armo-
 rum nubem in Statius, Theb. IV.
 839.

541. Sad resolution and secure:]
 By sad here is meant sower and
 fullen, as tristis in Latin and tristo
 in Italian signify. Pearce.

Or possibly it means no more than
 serious or in earnest, a sense fre-
 quent in all our old authors. And
 I remember a remarkable instance
 of the use of the word in Lord
 Bacon's Advice to Villiers Duke of
 Buckingham; "But if it were
 " an embassy of weight, concern-

In order, quit of all
Instant without distu
And onward move in
Not distant far with
Approaching grofs an
Training his devilish
On every side with sh
To hide the fraud. A

“ ing affairs of state, choice
“ made of some *sad* person
“ known judgment, wisdom
“ experience, and not of a yo
“ man, not weighed in state
“ ters &c:” if *sad* there be
false printed for *staid* or *sage*.
it is used in Spenser for so
grave, sedate. Fairy Queen, B
Cant. 2. St. 14.

A while; but suddenly at head appear'd
Satan, and thus was heard commanding loud.

Vanguard, to right and left the front unfold;
That all may see who hate us, how we seek
Peace and composure, and with open breast 560

Stand ready to receive them, if they like
Our overture, and turn not back perverse;
But that I doubt; however witness Heaven,
Heav'n witness thou anon, while we discharge
Freely our part; ye who appointed stand, 565

Do as you have in charge, and briefly touch
What we propound, and loud that all may hear.

So scoffing in ambiguous words, he scarce
Had ended; when to right and left the front

Divided,

546. ——— *barb'd with fire.*]
Bearded, headed with fire. Of the
French *barbe*, and the Latin *barba*
a beard. *Hume.*

548. ——— *quit of all impediment;*]
The carriages and baggage of an
army were call'd in Latin *impedi-*
menta: and the good Angels are
said to be *quit of all impediment* in
opposition to the others incumber'd
with their heavy artillery.

552. ——— *in hollow cube*] Dr.
Bentley reads *square*, but see my

note on ver. 399. *Pearce.*
I knew one who used to think it
should be *hollow tube*: to which it
may be objected that *enginry*, *ma-*
cbinae, are the hollow tubes or guns
themselves. *Jortin.*

553. *Training*] Drawing in
train, from the term, train of ar-
tillery.

568. *So scoffing in ambiguous words,*
&c.] We cannot pretend entirely
to justify this *punning* scene: but
we should consider that there is
Q 9 3 very

Brass, iron, stony m

very little of this kind of wit
where in the poem but in
place, and in this we may see
Milton to have sacrific'd to
taste of his times, when *peru*
better relish'd than they ar
present in the learned world;
I know not whether we are
grown too delicate and fastid
in this particular. It is ce
the Ancients practic'd them n
both in their conversation an
their writings; and Aristotle
commends them in his book
Rhetoric, and likewise Cicero
his treatise of Oratory; and if
should condemn them absolut
we must condemn half of the g
sayings of the greatest wits
Greece and Rome. They are
proper indeed in serious wo
and not at all becoming the
jesty of an epic poem; but
author seems to have been betra

With hideous orifice gap'd on us wide,
 Portending hollow truce: at each behind
 A Seraph stood, and in his hand a reed
 Stood waving tipt with fire; while we suspense 580
 Collected stood within our thoughts amus'd,
 Not long, for sudden all at once their reeds
 Put forth, and to a narrow vent apply'd

With

parenthesis here, as Milton himself has put it. The construction then will be, *Which to our eyes discover'd a triple row of pillars laid on wheels, of brass, iron, stony mold or substance, had not their mouths gap'd wide, and show'd that they were not pillars; the intermediate words containing a reason why he call'd them pillars (for like to pillars most they seem'd or hollow'd bodies &c.)* being included in a parenthesis.

576. *Brass, iron, stony mold,*] *Mold* here signifies substance as in II. 355. but Dr. Bentley by reading *cast in mold* changes the sense of it to one of a very different nature. By this emendation (he says) he has rid the poem of *stone cannon*: but such cannon have been heard of elsewhere, and are now to be seen (I think) at Delf in Holland. Whether they ever were, or could have been used in war, may be question'd: but it is probable that Milton by seeing such *stone cannon* in foreign countries,

was led to mention them here as part of Satan's artillery. *Pearce.* We read before that these Angels digg'd up veins of mineral and stone, ver. 517. and that may account for the *brass, iron, stony* substance here.

578. *Portending hollow truce:*] Here Raphael himself cannot help continuing the pun.

580. *Stood waving*] This must certainly be an error of the press, occasion'd by *stood* in the line before or in the line following; but then it is a wonder that Milton did not correct it in his second edition. Dr. Bentley reads

— and in his hand a reed
 Held waving tipt with fire;

and we should substitute some such word as this, as it makes better sense, as well as avoids the repetition of *stood* three times so near together.

Their devilish glut,
Of iron globes; whi
Level'd, with such ir
That whom they hit,
Though standing else
By thousands, Angel
The sooner for their a

586. — *deep throated eng*
So Shakespear in Othello,
III.

And oh, you mortal engins, wh
rude throats
Th' immortal Jove's dread clam
counterfeit.

586. — *whose roar*
Imbowel'd with outrageous no
the air,

Have easily as Spi'rits evaded swift
 By quick contraction or remove; but now
 Foul diffipation follow'd and forc'd rout;
 Nor serv'd it to relax their ferried files.
 What should they do? if on they rush'd, repulse
 Repeated, and indecent overthrow 601
 Doubled, would render them yet more despis'd,
 And to their foes a laughter; for in view
 Stood rank'd of Seraphim another row,
 In posture to displode their second tire 605
 Of thunder: back defeated to return
 They worse abhorr'd. Satan beheld their plight,
 And to his mates thus in derision call'd.

O

the roar fill'd the air with roar. Neither do I see how the matter is much mended by saying that the roar of the cannon imbowel'd with roar tore the air &c. The cannon I think cannot themselves be properly said to be imbowel'd with noise, tho' they might imbowel with noise the air. I would therefore endeavor to justify this by other similar passages. It is usual with the poets to put the property of a thing for the thing itself: and as in that verse, II. 654. (where see the note).

A cry of Hell hounds never ceasing bark'd,

we have a *cry of Hell hounds* for the Hell hounds themselves, so here we have the *roar* of the cannon for the cannon themselves; and the *roar* of cannon may as properly be said to imbowel the air *with outrageous noise*, as a *cry* of Hell hounds to *bark*.

599. — *ferried files.*] The Italian word *ferrato*, close, compact. *Thyer.*

Flew off, and into ft
As they would dance
Somewhat extravagat
For joy of offer'd pe
If our proposals once
We should compel t
To whom thus Bel
Leader, the terms w
Of hard contents, ar
Such as we might pe
And stumbled many;
Had need from head
Not understood, this

620. *To whom thus Belial*

They show us when our foes walk not upright.

So they among themselves in pleasant vein
 Stood scoffing, highten'd in their thoughts beyond
 All doubt of victory; eternal might 630

To match with their inventions they presum'd
 So easy', and of his thunder made a scorn,
 And all his host derided, while they stood
 A while in trouble : but they stood not long;
 Rage prompted them at length, and found them
 arms 635

Against such hellish mischief fit to' oppose.
 Forthwith (behold the excellence, the power,
 Which God hath in his mighty Angels plac'd)
 Their arms away they threw, and to the hills
 (For Earth hath this variety from Heaven 640

Of pleasure situate in hill and dale)
 Light as the lightning glimpse they ran, they flew;
 From their foundations loofning to and fro
 They pluck'd the seated hills with all their load,

Rocks.

635. *Rage* — *found them arms*]
 Furor arma ministrat.
 Virg. Æn. I. 150.

643. *From their foundations &c.*] There is nothing in the first and last day's engagement which does not appear natural, and agreeable enough to the ideas most readers would conceive of a fight between
two

... imagination w
not been raised and qual
such a description, by the
of the ancient poets, and
mer in particular. It was c
a very bold thought in
thor, to ascribe the first
artillery to the rebel Angel
as such a pernicious in
may be well suppos'd to ha
ceeded from such authors.
enter'd very properly in
thoughts of that being, v
all along described as aspi
the majesty of his Maker.
engins were the only instr
he could have made use
imitate those thunders, that
poetry, both sacred and pr
are represented as the ar
the Almighty. The tearin
the hills was not altogeth
daring a thought as the fo
We are in some measure
pared for such an incident b
description of the giants
which we meet with among
ancient poets. What still i
this circumstance the more pr
for the poet's use in it

When coming towards them so dread they saw
 The bottom of the mountains upward turn'd;
 Till on those cursed engins triple-row

650

They

threw them at the Gods. He describes one of them in particular taking up Lemnos in his arms, and whirling it to the skies, with all Vulcan's shop in the midst of it. Another tears up mount Ida, with the river Enipeus, which ran down the sides of it; but the poet, not content to describe him with this mountain upon his shoulders, tells us that the river flow'd down his back, as he held it up in that posture. It is visible to every judicious reader, that such ideas favor more of burlesque, than of the sublime. They proceed from a wantonness of imagination, and rather divert the mind than astonish it. Milton has taken every thing that is sublime in these several passages, and composes out of them the following great image;

From their foundations loosning
 to and fro
 They pluck'd the seated hills with
 all their load,
 Rocks, waters, woods, and by
 the shaggy tops
 Uplifting bore them in their
 hands: —

We have the full majesty of Homer in this short description, improved by the imagination of Clau-

dian, without its puerilities. I need not point out the description of the fallen Angels seeing the promontories hanging over their heads in such a dreadful manner, with the other numberless beauties in this book, which are so conspicuous, that they cannot escape the notice of the most ordinary reader. There are indeed so many wonderful strokes of poetry in this book, and such a variety of sublime ideas, that it would have been impossible to have given them a place within the bounds of this paper. Besides that I find it in a great measure done to my hand at the end of my Lord Roscommon's Essay on translated poetry. I shall refer my reader thither for some of the master-strokes in the sixth book of Paradise Lost, tho' at the same time there are many others, which that noble author has not taken notice of. Addison.

648. *When coming towards them so dread they saw*] Does not this verse express the very motion of the mountains, and is not there the same kind of beauty in the numbers, that the poet recommends in his excellent Essay on Criticism?

When

bruise'd
Into their substance
Implacable, and m
Long struggling und

When Ajax strives some
vast weight to throw,
The line too labors, and th
move flow.

656. *Their armour bel
bath,]* Somewhat li
in Spenser, Fairy Queen,
Cant. 11. St. 27.

That erst him goodly arm'
most of all him harm'd

661. — *now grows by
grown.]* What a fine
does Milton here inculcate
indeed quite

Out of such pris'n, though Spi'rits of purest light,
 Purest at first, now gross by finning grown. 66 i
 The rest in imitation to like arms
 Betook them, and the neighb'ring hills uptore ;
 So hills amid the air encounter'd hills
 Hurl'd to and fro with jaculation dire, 66 j
 That under ground they fought in dismal shade ;
 Infernal noise ; war seem'd a civil game
 To this uproar ; horrid confusion heap'd
 Upon confusion rose : and now all Heaven

Had

Exclusere diem telis, stant ferræa
 cælo
 Nubila, nec jaculis arctatus suffi-
 cit aer.

But what was a shade of *arrows*
 to a shade of *mountains* hurl'd to
 and fro, and encountering in mid
 air ! This was *infernal noise* in-
 deed, and making almost a Hell
 of Heaven. Such was the uproar
 in Hell, II. 539.

Others with vast Typhœan rage
 more fell
 Rend up both rocks and hills, and
 ride the air
 In whirlwind ; Hell scarce holds
 the wild uproar.

669. — and now all Heaven
 Had gone to wrack, —] It is re-
 mark'd by the critics in praise of

Homer's battels, that they rise in
 horror one above another to the
 end of the Iliad. The same may
 be said of Milton's battels. In
 the first day's engagement, when
 they fought under a cope of fire
 with burning arrows, it was said

———— all Heaven
 Refounded, and had Earth been
 then, all Earth
 Had to her center shook.

But now, when they fought with
 mountains and promontories, it is
 said *All Heaven had gone to wrack*,
 had not the almighty Father inter-
 pos'd, and sent forth his Son in
 the fulness of the divine glory and
 majesty to expel the rebel Angels
 out of Heaven. Homer's Iliad,
 VIII. 130.

Had gone to wrack, with ruin overspread; 670
Had not th'almighty Father, where he sits
Shrin'd in his sanctuary of Heav'n secure,
Consulting on the sum of things, foreseen
This tumult, and permitted all, advis'd
That his great purpose he might so fulfil, 675
To honor his anointed Son aveng'd
Upon his enemies, and to declare
All pow'r on him transferr'd: whence to his Son
Th' assessor of his throne he thus began.

Effulgence of my glory, Son belov'd, 680
Son in whose face invisible is beheld
Visibly, what by deity I am,

And in whose hand what by decree I do,

Second Omnipotence, two days are past,

Two days, as we compute the days of Heaven, 685

Since Michael and his Pow'rs went forth to tame

These disobedient: fore hath been their fight,

As likeliest was, when two such foes met arm'd;

For to themselves I left them, and thou know'st,

Equal in their creation they were form'd, 690

Save what sin hath impair'd, which yet hath wrought

Insensibly, for I suspend their doom;

Whence in perpetual fight they needs must last

Endless, and no solution will be found:

War wearied hath perform'd what war can do, 695

And

see, and Col. 1. 15. *The image of the invisible God.*

691. — *which yet hath wrought Insensibly;*] This word doth not seem well to consist with that alteration, which the Angel had just before said that sin had wrought in the fall'n Angels. *Thyer.*

The same difficulty stuck with me at first; but, I suppose, the author meant that the manner in which sin wrought was *insensible*, not the effects.

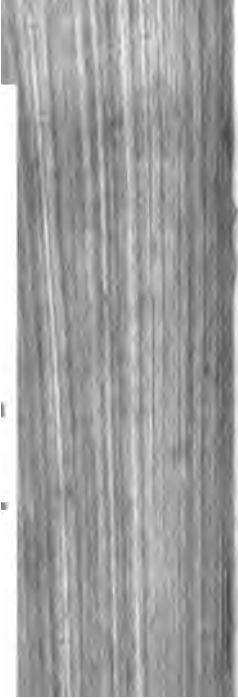
695. *War wearied hath perform'd what war can do,*] And in-

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deed within the compass of this one book we have all the variety of battels that can well be conceiv'd. We have a single combat, and a general engagement. The first day's fight is with darts and swords, in imitation of the Ancients; the second day's fight is with artillery, in imitation of the Moderns; but the images in both are rais'd proportionably to the superior nature of the beings here describ'd. And when the poet has briefly compris'd all that has any foundation in fact and reality, he has recourse to the fictions of the poets in their descriptions of the

R r

the



Of ending this great
Can end it. Into the
Immense I have tran
In Heav'n and Hell t
And this perverse cor
To manifest thee wo
Of all things, to be
By sacred unction, th
Go then thou Mighti
Ascend my chariot,
That shake Heav'n's

the giants war with the Gods
when *war hath thus perform'd*
war can do, he rises still
and the Son of God is sent
in the majesty of the almighty

My bow and thunder, my almighty arms
 Gird on, and sword upon thy puissant thigh;
 Pursue these sons of darkness, drive them out 715
 From all Heav'n's bounds into the utter deep:
 There let them learn, as likes them, to despise
 God and Messiah his anointed king.

He said, and on his Son with rays direct
 Shone full; he all his Father full express'd 720
 Ineffably into his face receiv'd;
 And thus the filial Godhead answer'd spake.

O Father, O Supreme of heav'nly Thrones,
 First, Highest, Holiest, Best, thou always seek'st
 To glorify thy Son, I always thee, 725
 As is most just; this I my glory' account,
 My exaltation, and my whole delight,
 That thou in me well pleas'd, declar'st thy will
 Fulfill'd, which to fulfil is all my bliss.

Scepter

The Psalm here meant is the XLVth, ver. 3. & 4. *Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, O most mighty, with thy glory and thy majesty: and in thy majesty ride prosperously &c.*

714. — *and sword upon thy puissant thigh;*] A great man observed to me, that the sentence falls in this place, and that it may

be improv'd by reading and pointing the whole passage thus,

— bring forth all my war,
 My bow and thunder, my almighty arms;
 And gird my sword upon thy puissant thigh.

Image of thee in
Arm'd with thy mi
To their prepar'd i
To chains of dark
That from thy just

732. *Thou shalt be all in*
We may still observe that
generally makes the divine
talk in the stile and langu
Scripture. This passage is
festly taken from 1 Cor. 2
and 28. *Then cometh the en*
he shall have delivered up th
dom to God: And when all
shall be subdued unto him, the
the Son also himself be subje
him that put all things unde
that God may be all in all.
immediately afterwards when
said

~~And~~ I in thee
For ever and

Whom to obey is happiness entire.

Then shall thy Saints unmix'd, and from th' impure

Far separate, circling thy holy mount

Unfeign'd Halleluiahs to thee sing,

Hymns of high praise, and I among them chief. 745

So said, he o'er his scepter bowing, rose

From the right hand of glory where he sat;

And the third sacred morn began to shine,

Dawning through Heav'n: forth rush'd with whirl-
wind sound

The chariot of paternal Deity,

750

Flashing

Of these rebellous, of these who have rebell'd; a remarkable expression.

religious grandeur, which throws the advantage on the side of the English poet. *Thyer.*

746. *So said, he o'er his scepter bowing, rose &c.*] The description of the Messiah's going out against the rebel Angels is a scene of the same sort with Hesiod's Jupiter against the Titans. They are both of them the most undoubted instances of the true sublime; but which has exceeded it is very difficult to determin. There is, I think, a greater profusion of poetical images in that of the latter; but then the superior character of a Christian Messiah, which Milton has with great judgment and majesty supported in this part of his work, gives a certain air of

749. — *forth rush'd with whirlwind sound &c.*] Milton has raised his description in this book with many images taken out of the poetical parts of Scripture. The Messiah's chariot is formed upon a vision of Ezekial, who, as Grotius observes, has very much in him of Homer's spirit in the poetical parts of his prophesy.

Addison.

The whole description indeed is drawn almost word for word from Ezekiel, as the reader will see by comparing them together.

Flashing thick flames, wheel within wheel undrawn,
 Itself instinct with Spirit, but convoy'd
 By four Cherubic shapes; four faces each
 Had wondrous; as with stars their bodies all
 And wings were set with eyes, with eyes the wheels
 Of beril, and carreering fires between; 756
 Over their heads a crystal firmament,
 Whereon a saphir throne, inlaid with pure
 Amber,

— forth rush'd with whirlwind
 found
 The chariot of paternal Deity,
 Flashing thick flames,

And I looked, and behold a whirl-

— four faces each
 Had wondrous; as with stars their
 bodies all
 And wings were set with eyes, with
 eyes the wheels

Amber, and colors of the show'ry arch.
 He in celestial panoply all arm'd 760
 Of radiant Urim, work divinely wrought,
 Ascended; at his right hand victory
 Sat eagle-wing'd; beside him hung his bow
 And quiver with three-bolted thunder stor'd,
 And from about him fierce effusion roll'd 765
 Of smoke and bickering flame and sparkles dire:

Attended

Whereon a saphir throne, inlaid with pure
 Amber, and colors of the show'ry arch.

And the likeness of the firmament upon the heads of the living creatures was as the color of the terrible crystal, stretched forth over their heads above: And above the firmament that was over their heads was the likeness of a throne, as the appearance of a saphir stone: And I saw as the color of amber, as the appearance of the bow that is in the cloud in the day of rain. I. 22, 26, 27, 28.

760. He in celestial panoply all arm'd
 Of radiant Urim,] All arm'd in complete heavenly armour of radiant light. *Celestial panoply* is in allusion to St. Paul's expression, Eph. VI. 11. *Put on the panoply, the whole armour of God.* The word was used before, ver. 527. *Urim* and *Thummim* were something in

Aaron's breastplate; what they were critics and commentators are by no means agreed; but the word *Urim* signifies *light* and *Thummim* *perfection*; and therefore Milton very properly gives the epithet of *radiant* to *Urim*. It is most probable that *Urim* and *Thummim* were only names given to signify the clearness and certainty of the divine answers, which were obtain'd by the high-priest consulting God with his breast-plate on, in contradistinction to the obscure, enigmatical, uncertain and imperfect answers of the Heathen oracles.

765. And from about him fierce effusion roll'd
 Of smoke and bickering flame and sparkles dire:] A furious tempest pouring forth smoke and fighting flame round about him. *Bickering*, fighting and thence destroying, of the Welsh *Bicre* a combat *There went up a smoke out of his nostrils, and fire out of his*

... the Crystallin Key,
Illustrious far and wide
First seen; them unex
When the great ensign
Aloft by Angels borne,
Under whose conduct
His army, circumfus'd
Under their Head imb
Before him pow'r divin
At his command th' up
Each to his place; they

*his mouth devoured. Pſal. XVIII.
A fire ſhall devour before him, as
it ſhall be every tempeſtuous row
about him. Pſal. L. 3.*

Hume.

Obsequious, Heav'n his wonted face renew'd,
 And with fresh flow'rets hill and valley smil'd.
 This saw his hapless foes but stood obdur'd, 785
 And to rebellious fight rallied their Powers
 Insensate, hope conceiving from despair.
 In heav'nly Spi'rits could such perverseness dwell?
 But to convince the proud what signs avail,
 Or wonders move th' obdurate to relent? 790
 They harden'd more by what might most reclame,
 Grieving to see his glory, at the sight
 Took envy, and aspiring to his highth,
 Stood reimbattel'd fierce, by force or fraud
 Weening to prosper, and at length prevail 795
 Against God and Messiah, or to fall
 In universal ruin last; and now
 To final battel drew, disdainning flight,

Or

787. ——— *hope conceiving from despair.*] Imitated from Virgil.


Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem. *Æn.* II. 354

Or rather from Quintus Curtius. *Lib.* 5. *cap.* 4. *Ignaviam quoque necessitas acuit, et sæpe desperatio spai causa est.*

788. *In heav'nly Spirits could such perverseness dwell?*]

—Tantæne animis coelestibus iræ? *Virg. Æn.* .11.

797. *In universal ruin last;*] So it is in Milton's two first editions; and if he wrote *last*, it must be understood the same as *at last*; but I was thinking whether it would



Accepted, fearless in his
And as ye have receiv'd,
Invincibly; but of this
The punishment to other
Vengeance is his, or what
Number to this day's wrath
Nor multitude; stand on
God's indignation on the
By me; not you but me
Yet envied; against me

would not be better to read *In un
iversal ruin left*, when I found it
in Dr. Bentley's edition, but with
out any note upon it, or any thing
to distinguish the alteration, as
it had been so printed in all the
former editions.

Because the Father, t' whom in Heav'n supreme
Kingdom and pow'r and glory appertains, 815
Hath honor'd me according to his will.

Therefore to me their doom he hath assign'd;
That they may have their wish, to try with me
In battel which the stronger proves, they all,
Or I alone against them, since by strength 820
They measure all, of other excellence
Not emulous, nor care who them excels;
Nor other strife with them do I vouchsafe.

So spake the Son, and into terror chang'd
His count'nance too severe to be beheld, 825
And full of wrath bent on his enemies.

At once the Four spread out their starry wings
With dreadful shade contiguous, and the orbs

Of

is either mean or superfluous. Or rather *bent* may be a participle in this construction—*his countenance too severe to be beheld, and bent full of wrath on his enemies.*

827. *At once: the Four &c.*] Whenever he mentions the four Cherubim and the Messiah's chariot, he still copies from Ezekiel's vision.

At once the Four spread out their starry wings

With dreadful shade contiguous,

Their wings join'd together made a dreadful shade; and Ezekiel says, *Their wings were joined one to another.* I. 9.

—— and the orbs

Of his fierce chariot roll'd, as with the sound

Of

Among them he arriv'
Grasping ten thousand
Before him, such as in
Plagues; they astonish
All courage; down the

Of torrent floods, or of a nu-
rous host.

*And when the living creatures, as
the wheels went by them; and as
they went I heard the noise of
wings, like the noise of great water
as the noise of an host. L. 19. 24.*

832. *Gloomy as night;*] Fr
Homer, Iliad. XII. 462. wh
the translator makes use of Milt
swords.

O'er shields and helms and helmed heads he rode 840
 Of Thrones and mighty Seraphim prostrate,
 That wish'd the mountains now might be again
 Thrown on them as a shelter from his ire.
 Nor less on either side tempestuous fell
 His arrows, from the fourfold-visag'd Four 845
 Distinct with eyes, and from the living wheels
 Distinct alike with multitude of eyes;
 One Spirit in them rul'd, and every eye
 Glar'd lightning, and shot forth pernicious fire
 Among th' accurs'd, that wither'd all their strength,

And

Couch'd, and now fall'd with pasture gazing fat.

Whose carcases on ground were horribly prostrate.

841. *Of Thrones and mighty Seraphim prostrate,*] Milton commonly pronounces this word, as we do, with the accent upon the first syllable. See I. 280. X. 1087. 1099. But here the accent is upon the last syllable, and so Fairfax uses it in his translation of Tasso, Cant. 1. St. 83.

And B. 3. Cant. 12. St. 39.

Before fair Britomart she fell prostrate.

He heard the western Lords would undermine

His city's wall, and lay his tow'rs prostrate.

842. *That wish'd the mountains now might be again &c.*] So Rev. VI. 16. *They said to the mountains, Fall on us, and hide us from the face of him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb:* which is very applicable here, as they had been overwhelmed with mountains. See ver. 655. What was so terrible before, they wish'd as a shelter now.

And Spenser, I think, commonly pronounces it in this manner, Fairy Queen. B. 2. Cant. 8. St. 54.

And of their wonted vigor left them drain'd, 851
Exhausted, spiritless, afflicted, fall'n.

Yet half his strength he put not forth, but check'd

His

853. *Yet half his strength he put not forth, &c.*] There is no question but Milton had heated his imagination with the fight of the Gods in Homer, before he enter'd upon this engagement of the Angels. Homer there gives us a scene of men, heroes, and Gods, mix'd together in battel. Mars animates the contending armies, and lifts up his voice in such a manner, that it is heard distinctly amidst all the shouts and confusion of the fight. Jupiter at the same time thunders over their heads; while Neptune raises such a tempest, that the

of brazen chariots, the hurling of rocks and mountains, the earthquake, the fire, the thunder, are all of them employ'd to lift up the reader's imagination, and give him a suitable idea of so great an action. With what art has the poet represented the whole body of the earth trembling, even before it was created!

All Heav'n resounded, and had
Earth been then,
All Earth had to her center shook.

His thunder in mid voly; for he meant
 Not to destroy, but root them out of Heaven: 855
 The overthrown he rais'd, and as a herd

Of

Yet half his strength he put not
 forth, but check'd
 His thunder in mid voly; for he
 meant
 Not to destroy, but root them out
 of Heaven.

all his wrath. And it greatly exceeds Hesiod, who makes Jupiter upon a like occasion exert all his strength. Hes. Theog. 687.

Ουδ' ἀρ' ἐπὶ Ζεὺς ἰσχυρὸν εὐὸν μὲν
 ἀλλὰ νυ τεύχε
 ἔϊθαρ μὲν ἰσχυρὸν πλὴν ἴο φρεσίν,
 ἐκ δὲ τε πλοσάρ
 φάυε βῆρ.

In a word, Milton's genius, which was so great in itself, and so strengthen'd by all the helps of learning, appears in this book every way equal to his subject, which was the most sublime that could enter into the thoughts of a poet. As he knew all the arts of affecting the mind, he knew it was necessary to give it certain resting places, and opportunities of recovering itself from time to time: he has therefore with great address interspersed several speeches, reflections, similitudes, and the like reliefs to diversify his narration, and ease the attention of the reader, that he might come fresh to his great action, and by such a contrast of ideas have a more lively taste of the nobler parts of his description.

Addison.

Yet half his strength he put not forth, &c. This fine thought is somewhat like that of the Psalmist, LXXVIII. 38. *But he being full of compassion, forgave their iniquity, and destroyed them not; yea, many a time turned he his anger away, and did not stir up*

856. — *and as a herd*
Of goats &c.] It may seem strange that our author amidst so many sublime images should intermix so low a comparison as this. But it is the practice of Homer; and we have some remarkable instances in the second book of the Iliad, where in a pompous description of the Grecians going forth to battle, and amidst the glare of several noble similitudes, they are compar'd for their number to *fies about a shepherd's cottage, when the milk moistens the pails*; and after he has compar'd Agamemnon to Jove, and Mars, and Neptune, he compares him again to a *bull*. But we may observe to the advantage of our author, that this low simile is not apply'd, as Homer's are, to the persons he meant to honor, but to the contrary party; and the lower the comparison, the more it expresses their defect. And there is

the

Struck them with ho
Urg'd them behind;

the greater propriety in the
tude of *goats* particularly, be
our Saviour represents the w
under the same image, as the
are called *the sheep*. Mat. XXV
And he shall set the sheep on his
hand, but the goats on the left.
which reason Dr. Pearce is of
nion that by a *timorous flock* ar
meant *sheep* but *deer*, that eq
being as it were appropriate
the poets to that animal. A
has *timidi damæ* twice at least
the author (as Dr. Bentley
Dr. Heylin imagin) might
said not *or* but a *timorous* ;
and as a *herd of goats* a *tim*
flock. But he would hardly
call'd the same a *herd of goats*,
then a *flock* immediately afterw
and neither would he have
the expression of *timorous flock*
a *herd of deer* in

Down from the verge of Heav'n; eternal wrath 865
 Burnt after them to the bottomless pit.

Hell heard th' unsufferable noise, Hell saw
 Heav'n ruining from Heav'n, and would have fled
 Affrighted; but strict fate had cast too deep
 Her dark foundations, and too fast had bound. 870
 Nine days they fell; confounded Chaos roar'd,
 And felt tenfold confusion in their fall

Through

idea. The beauty of it arises chiefly from the Pyrrichius in the third, and the Trochee in the fourth place,

Burnt after them tō thē bōttōm-
 less pit;

and change them into Iambics, which some perhaps would think better, and it will lose its effect;

Burnt after them tō Hēll's trē-
 mēndōus pit.

Milton himself was so sensible of this beauty, that he repeats it in Paradise Regain'd, l. 360.

— but was driven

With them from bliss to the bot-
 tomless deep.

868. *Heav'n ruining from Heav'n,*] *Ruining* is here used as a deponent; it is a beautiful way of speaking, and very expressive of the idea; it is founded on the notion of the Latin *ruina* from *ruo*. And Milton here follow'd the sense of the Italian word *rovinare* or *ruinare*, which
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in the dictionary Della Crusca is explain'd by falling headlong and violently from a higher to a lower place.

Pearce.

The word *ruining* in this place is the Italian word *ruinando* Anglicis'd, which expresses in the strongest manner the idea which the author wants to convey, as it denotes any thing falling down with ruin and precipitation. To give one instance out of a thousand. Tasso *Ger. Liberata*. Cant. 9. St. 39.

Come ne l' Apennin robusta pi-
 anta,

Che sprezzò d'Euro, e d'Aquilon
 la guerra

Se turbo inusitato al fin la schi-
 anta,

Gli alberi intorno *ruinando* atterra.

The following instance may be added too from Marino. *Adon*. Cant. 1. St. 36.

E *ruinando* dal' etherea mole.

Thyer.

871. *Nine days they fell;*] And so in Book I. 50.

S f

Nin:

Her mural breach,
Sole victor from th
Messiah his triumph
To meet him all h
Eye-witnesse of hi

Nine times the space that
day and night &c.

Thus in the first Iliad the
continues nine days, and
occasions the poets are found
numbers nine and three. The
three Graces and nine Muses
might at first occasion this
thinking it is not easy to find
it is certainly very ancient,
are now so accusom'd to it,
here, instead of nine, Milton
said ten days, I am persuas'd
would not have had so good
effect. The same space of

With jubilee advanc'd; and as they went,
 Shaded with branching palm, each order bright, 885
 Sung triumph, and him sung victorious King,
 Son, Heir, and Lord, to him dominion given,
 Worthiest to reign: he celebrated rode
 Triumphant through mid Heav'n, into the courts
 And temple of his mighty Father thron'd 890
 On high; who into glory him receiv'd,
 Where now he sits at the right hand of blifs.

Thus measuring things in Heav'n by things on Earth,
 At thy request, and that thou may'st beware

By

like that in Fairfax's Tasso, Cant. 9.
 St. 59.

Fit house for them, the house of
 grief and pain.

An instance this, and there are
 others, that Milton made use of
 the translation of Tasso, as well as
 of the original.

878. *Disburden'd Heav'n rejoic'd,*
 So Tasso when Michael has drove
 the infernal Spirits to Hell. *Gier.*
 Lib. Cant. 9. St. 66.

Liberato da lor quella si negra
 Faccia deponc il mondo, e si ral-
 legra.

The earth deliver'd from so foul
 annoy
 Recall'd her beauty, and resum'd
 her joy. Fairfax. *Thyer.*

*Disburden'd Heav'n rejoic'd, and
 soon repair'd*

*Her mural breach, returning whence
 it roll'd.*] Returning is to be
 join'd in construction with *Heav'n*,
 and not with *breach*. Heaven re-
 turned to its place: But the ex-
 pression (as we noted before) is
 not very accurate, *Heav'n repair'd*
 her mural breach, and return'd
 whence it roll'd.

888. *Worthiest to reign:*] Al-
 luding to Rev. IV. 11. *Thou art
 worthy, O Lord, to receive glory,
 and honor and power, &c.* and so
 making the Angels sing the same
 divine song that St. John heard
 them sing in his vision.

893. *Thus measuring things in
 Heav'n by things on Earth, &c.*
 He repeats the same kind of apo-
 logy here in the conclusion, that
 he made in the beginning of his
 narration. See V. 573. &c.

S f 2

By

By what is past, to thee I have reveal'd
 What might have else to human race been hid;
 The discord which beset, and war in Heaven
 Among th' angelic Pow'rs, and the deep fall
 Of those too high aspiring, who rebell'd
 With Satan; he who envies now thy state,
 Who now is plotting how he may seduce
 Thee also from obedience, that with him

Ber:

By likening spiritual to corporal forms, &c

and it is indeed the best defense that can be made for the bold fictions in this book, which tho' some cold readers perhaps may blame, yet the coldest, I conceive, cannot but admire. It is remarkable too with what art and beauty the poet from the high and sublimity of the rest of this book descends here at the close of it, like the lark from her loftiest notes in the clouds, to the most prosaic simplicity of language and numbers; a simplicity which not only gives it variety, but the greatest majesty, as Milton himself seems to have thought by always choosing to give the speeches of God and the Messiah in that stile, tho' these I suppose are the parts of this poem, which Dryden censures as the flats which he often met with for thirty or forty lines together.

900. *With Satan; he who envies now thy state,*] The con-

struction requires *him*, as Dr. Lley says: or it may be inter-
He it is who envies now thy state

909. *Thy weaker;*] As St. L calls the wife *the weaker* :
 1 Pet. III. 7.

It may perhaps be agreed the reader to find here at the conclusion of this sixth book the commendations, which Lord Rowton has bestow'd upon it in *Essay on translated verse*, in which Mr. Addison refers to it above. That truly noble critic poet is there making his complaint of the barbarous bondage of: and wishes that the English would shake off the yoke, having so, an example before them as the author of *Paradise Lost*.

Of many faults rime is perhaps
 cause;
 Too strict to rime, we slight
 useful laws.
 For that, in Greece or Rome,
 never known,

Bereav'd of happiness thou may'st partake
His punishment, eternal misery;

Which would be all his solace and revenge,
As a despite done against the most High,

905

Thee once to gain companion of his woe.

But listen not to his temptations, warn

Thy weaker; let it profit thee to' have heard

By terrible example the reward

910

Of

Till by Barbarian deluges o'er-
flown:

Subdued, undone, they did at last
obey,

And change their own for their in-
vaders way.

I grant that from some mossy idol
oak

In double rimes our Thor and Wo-
den spoke;

And by succession of unlearned
times,

As Bards began, so Monks rung on
the chimes.

But now that Phœbus and the fa-
cred Nine

With all their beams on our bless'd
iland shine,

Why should not we their ancient
rites restore,

And be what Rome or Athens were
before?

Have we forgot how Raphael's
numerous prose

Led our exalted souls through
heav'nly camps,

And mark'd the ground where
proud apostate Thrones

Defy'd Jehovah! Here, 'twixt host
and host,

(A narrow but a dreadful interval)
Portentous sight! before the cloudy
van

Satan with vast and haughty strides
advanc'd,

Came towering arm'd in adamant
and gold.

There bellowing engins with their
fiery tubes

Dispers'd ethereal forms, and down
they fell

By thousands, Angels on Arch-An-
gels roll'd;

Recover'd, to the hills they ran,
they flew,

Which (with their pond'rous load,
rocks, waters, woods)

From their firm seats torn by the
shaggy tops,

They bore like shields before them
through the air,

Till more incens'd they hurl'd them
at their foes.

All was confusion, Heav'n's foun-
dations shook,

Threatning

as they lay,
Till the great ensign of M
blaz'd,
And (arm'd with vengeance) C
victorious Son
(Effulgence of paternal Deity)
Grasping ten thousand thunde
his hand

The end o

E R R
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